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THE

CONFLICT OF RACES





The Migration of the Manufacturing Industries of the United States and Europe

TO THE

EASTERN SHORES OF ASIA.

The spread of Opium Smoking, Leprosy and other Imported Evils.

WASHINGTON M. RYER, M. D. SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

P. J. THOMAS, PRINTER AND PUBLISHER, 505 CLAY STREET, 1886.



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THE CONFLICT OF RACES.

Asiatic Labor.—Its Relations to the Manufactures of the United States and Europe.—The Pro-Chinese Press.

HE Managing Editors of the greater number of papers published in the States east of the Rocky Mountains, have not themselves, nor have they permitted correspondents to spread before the readers of their papers, an impartial statement of the strife between Mongolian and white labor.

If there are any persons who believe that they will give both sides an equal showing in the columns of their papers, let such persons write an article and head it thus: "Another murder of innocent Chinamen! Their houses burned and their property stolen! All the Chinamen are driven by a mob from the town without an hour's notice! Hoodlums rioting among the ruins! Outrages upon a docile and harmless people!"

Under these or other startling headings let the writer exaggerate to his fullest capacity, even to the extent that truth may be left so far behind as to be out of sight.

When this article is long enough and horrible enough to suit Eastern prejudice, let it be sent to any editor in the Atlantic States, and it will certainly appear in his paper the day after its receipt accompanied by an editorial calling upon the whole National force to put an end to such violence.

On the other hand, let these same persons write an article as carefully as possible, to avoid all expressions likely to offend the readers of the paper, and in the article set forth: that, by reason of the existence of the many Chinese wash-houses in the towns of the Pacific States, poor women who are accustomed to earn their living by washing clothes, can get no employment and are now in a condition of want approaching starvation:

That, because of Chinamen having superior strength and not being subjected to the infirmities peculiar to womanhood, and their being accustomed to a cheap mode of living, they have been enabled to underwork women in all that may be done with the sewing machine:

That Chinamen have taken the places of women in almost every factory:

That they have taken the place of women in the kitchen, and even to the work of the chambermaid:

That, therefore, having had the occupations which have heretofore supported these women in a respectable manner taken from them, there now remains for them a life of want and deprivation, or a life of disgrace and shame:

That Chinamen have taken the place of white men in the cotton, silk, woolen and other mills:

That they have thrown out of employment, by taking their places, men who have learned the tinner's, shoemaker's, cigar, broom-making, tailor's, tanner's and other trades, requiring skillful manipulation; and that these men and their families are now in the desperation of want.

Let this sorrowful tale of suffering caused by the presence of the Chinese in the Pacific States be sent to Eastern editors. They will read enough of it to learn it is not pro-Chinese and they will cast it into the waste basket. They will not publish it!!

Manufacturing Centres being Migratory, what effect will a Cheaper Labor have upon Manufacturing Cities in the United States.

The sympathy for the Mongolian arises to a very great extent, from the belief of the greater portion of the people in the Eastern States, that a profitable trade may yet exist between themselves and the Chinese. And they will not accept the painful lessons being taught in the Pacific States, that in the conflict of races in the fields of labor, their own brothers and sisters are vanquished.

It will be a healthy occupation for Eastern editors and ministers, and all who should direct public opinion, to ask themselves questions like the following: Does the history of manufactures, whether ancient or modern, teach otherwise than that they have rested with cities or with nations but a brief period of time; and that superior skill or greater facility for manufacturing have changed their location? In modern times abundance of coal and cheaper labor have located the factories.

If, then, manufacturing centres are migratory, and cheaper production, the result of cheaper labor, is to govern the location; who, of all the people of this world, can furnish this cheaper labor in the greatest abundance?

But is this labor competent to manage and operate factories in competition with the European races? If it has been successful, and shown to be competent in the Pacific States, why not in the other States of the Union? If in the United States it is proved to be competent, why not in the seaport towns of China or Japan?

The Competition concerns the Manufacturing Cities of the Atlantic more than the Cities depending upon Agriculture.

Whether Asiatic labor and its effects, most concern the Western or the Eastern States can be readily discovered by a few questions.

What are the resources of all the Eastern, and some of the Middle States, other than that depending upon their factories and the work of their mechanics? If, then, these States have no other resources of importance, and the people depend upon their factories for sustenance, and the factories find no market for their products, what will be the condition of affairs in these States?

Suppose a plant of machinery, of the best and most modern structure, is placed in a country whose labor is so abundant as to forbid strikes, trade unions, and such organizations, as can only exist where the demand for labor is greater than the supply, and this plant of machinery for a while is directed by an European superintendent, and the laborer is paid twenty cents for a day of twelve hours' work, and the product of this plant is sold in the markets at a price

less than it can be sold for if manufactured by similar factories in the United States, what effect would that have? Ah, but we may reduce the wages of our laborers! But can the wages of the white laborer be reduced so as to successfully compete with men who have, from the beginning of their lives, been accustomed to live upon such simple food that ten or fifteen cents a day is a large price to pay for their board, even when they work at the high wages paid in the United States?

But we can protect ourselves with a tariff!

Where, then, is your trade with foreign countries? Highpriced labor may be temporarily created by a tariff, but its product can only be sold within the boundaries of the country protected. The markets of the world are only open to the best that can be purchased at the lowest price.

If, then, history from the beginning has always shown that the manufacturing centres are of so migratory a character that superior facilities will remove them, what special qualities belong to the Eastern States and to Great Britain which will retain the location there?

Wise men, instead of condemning the defeated workingmen and working-women of their own race, supplanted, as they have been, in the labor fields of the Pacific States; instead of toadying to the Chinese and bending the "pliant hinges of the knee," where they suppose "thrift may follow fawning," would have learned something which they seem not now to comprehend, by properly studying the subtlety, cunning, treachery, immoralities and the depraved habits of the class of humanity which has upon American soil, and under great disadvantages, been enabled to take the places of Europeans in almost every department of labor in the Pacific Coast States.

The Trade with China of the Past.—It gives no Assurance of a Profitable Future.

The China and the Indies of the past are not the same as they are at present nor as they will be in the future. All who read of the fortunes made in trade with China had better put it clearly in their mind, that it is not the present but the past in which these profits were made. The people who can beat us on our own soil by their superior cunning, are not likely to let us get away with them in their own country in the future.

A few questions may suggest answers which will lead us away from past errors. Is it not certified to by the most competent authorities that China is well endowed with coal, iron and other metals; and the territory of surrounding nations and the islands of the Pacific Ocean can, with China, so soon as the mines are well opened, fully supply the wants of all the factories necessary to do the manufacturing of the world?

The population of Japan, being a little more than that of Great Britain and Ireland, or little less than that of France, number 37,500,000. The Empire of China has a population variously estimated between 300,000,000 and 450,000,000. Hindostan counts 250,000,000. Now, add to these the population of the contiguous territories and islands, and you have the enormous number of Yellow Skins whose aggregate is more than twice that of the entire white population of the world. A source of supply to the fields of labor twice greater than has heretofore existed, now open, and the European may contemplate the degradation which must follow in the competition between his own and the millions of a baser race.

How the inevitable future is indicated by the bending towards it, is seen in the modified taste which now decorates the homes of the wealthy with Chinese and Japanese manufactures. The marvelous prices paid for the handiwork of these people is a tribute to their skill, or an act of idiocy on the part of the buyers. Enter a Japanese, Chinese or East India store; examine the works in bronze, porcelain and other wares; the silks, embroideries, carvings, etc., etc.; study the patient and continuous labor necessary to produce these effects, and then consider if it is violent or far-fetched to suggest that the fingers which did these works could, when directed by an European superintendent, enter successfully into competition with Europeans. Cultivate their taste

so as to conform to that of the European, give them the most approved machinery, let them be directed by a skilled European superintendent, and what they can accomplish is better known in California than in any other part of the world. To the pro-Chinese advocates of the East, who each have come in contact with about six Chinamen in their entire lives and who believe Californians to be only "roughs" and "hoodlums" and who have taken the "childlike and bland" Chinaman to their sympathetic care, we would suggest that they learn something from the great conflict of the two races in the fields of labor in the Pacific States; not losing sight of the fact that the white man is upon his own soil, and the Mongolian is a foreigner, and for awhile after arrival in this country does not understand the language of the country-all these advantages being in favor of the whites. He may find in the answer to questions like the following that

A Cloud is coming from the West whose dark shadows will forever rest over Eastern Cities.

And, in its pall of demoralization, wreck their manufacturing enterprises and bring desolation, ruin and despair unto the people.

Have not all the kinds of work that the sewing machine is capable of doing by the hands of white men and women been done, and are they not now being done by the same machine when driven by Chinamen? Have they not taken the place of white men and women in almost every department of silk, woolen, jute, cotton and other factories? Have not the Chinamen driven from their trades, tinners, shoemakers, the makers of overalls and shirts; tailors, cigarmakers, butchers, saddlers, gardeners and every trade requiring handiwork—a very large number, because of their cheaper labor? And do they not in San Francisco own and run with Chinese operatives thirty-eight shoe factories, each factory employing on an average about 100 Chinamen? Thus showing that three Chinamen are working in the shoe factories, with the best Eastern machinery, in the city of San Francisco, to every one white man. Do we not find the Chinamen in all the

Pacific States engaged as merchants, insurance agents, bankers, and in every occupation ordinarily pursued by the Caucasian? Are there not many Chinese in the Pacific States who are millionaires, from the accretions of their mercantile and manufacturing operations? and have not many of these capitalists been enabled, first by underselling or otherwise securing the customers, to become by purchase the owners and operators of many of the most profitable factories of the Pacific Coast?

When we look at the bright and intelligent faces of the European, and then at the dull, stupid, expressionless face of the Mongolian, we cannot believe the statements here made. But when we turn and see the Chinese in the factories, and the white men and women begging for the privilege to work, that they may earn their bread, the truth is realized, and the statement only fails of being correct because of its feebleness.

A stranger for the first time looking at a steam engine would see only the black iron and complicated machinery, but he would have no conception of the power hidden from his view. So, when looking at the dull and stupid appearing Chinaman, we cannot discover the especial gifts and qualities which render him so dangerous as a competitor or as a laborer.

We extract the following from the work of James A. Whitney, LL.D.:

"I shall never forget my first sight, years ago, in San Francisco, of a Chinese artisan at his work. It was only the making of cigars, but the tawny fingers moved as if directed by the regular stroke of steam, and with an accuracy that no mechanism could surpass. Making no haste and no pause, impassive to the curious gaze of the onlooker, his horizon apparently bounded by the space of the bench before him, stunted in figure, and with the dull, animalized visage peculiar to his race, he stood, a being trained to manual dexterity by forty centuries of labor, but devoid of the wants, the aspirations, the high humanity, with all its attendant needs, which forty centuries of intellectual, emotional and physical advancement have given to the races with which time and circumstance have brought him face to face."

The Ox of the Pacific is now being Gored.—The Ox of the Atlantic will soon be.

The Eastern States are comparatively free from the evil of competition at this time. They, therefore, can "speak patience to those that wring under the load of sorrow. But no man's virtue or sufficiency, to be so moral when he shall endure the like himself." What Asiatic competition will do for the cities of the Atlantic States is now being foreshadowed. Rev. H. W. Beecher said: "From the East I believe is to come a civilization that will yet make the nations of Europe tremble. We have got to learn these things, and if the average European or American, with his superior opportunities, cannot beat the Chinaman he must be content to be beaten by him."

But a short time since the German Minister notified the Pekin Government that if the local authorities interfered with any of his countrymen in the building or operating of factories in the seaport towns of China, to which they were admitted by treaty, the whole force of the German Empire would be brought to bear upon China. At this time the buildings for the manufacture of silk, cotton and other goods are being erected by Germans, Britains and other Europeans. The machinery, being made in Europe, is of the most approved kind. Will it not be that the low-priced labor of the country will make these first ventures profitable? And when this is shown, will not thousands rush in to establish others?

If a manufacturing plant in the State of New Jersey or Massachusetts pays but a small percentage on the cost, labor being one dollar per day, and a manufacturing plant pays twenty or thirty per cent. in Japan, China or Hindostan, labor being twenty cents per day, how long will it be before the plant of New Jersey or Massachusetts will be found migrating towards Asia? You will say it is absurd to talk of closing New England or Old England factories. It is too far-fetched! It is wild! It is, however, the same quality of prognosis that might have ten years ago foretold that Calcutta factories would close those of Dundee; for at this time

the greater part of the jute raised is made into merchantable goods in the city of Calcutta. Wheat bags, which Dundee sold for fifteen cents, Calcutta can sell at five and six cents.

Who would have ventured to say, ten years ago, that British landlords would try to sell their lands for Government consols, and that the wheat raised by the low-priced labor of India would make farming unprofitable both in England and the United States? But are not these existing facts?

If, then, the cheaper labor has captured the wheat market, and the manufacture of jute is tending towards the Indies, why may not silk, cotton and other factories gravitate towards the countries of low-priced labor? There never was an epoch in human existence when men did not search to buy at the lowest price. This being a fixed quality of the human mind, where will be the market for the sale of the products of the factories which pay the highest price for their labor?

A One-sided Treaty and an Unprofitable Commerce.

There are less than one thousand Americans in China, and these are permitted to live only in certain districts. There are over 200,000 Chinamen living in the United States, and these are permitted to live anywhere; and if their interest suggests it they may open an opium-den or a wash-house next to the palace of any of our millionaires.

The total value of merchandise exported from the United States to China during the fiscal year 1885 was \$6,396,500. This includes the export to Hongkong. By contrast our export to Great Britain the same year was \$398,103,203.

The import from China the same year amounted to \$16,-292,169, two-thirds of these imports being admitted free. The specie drawn the same year was \$14,573,233, exclusive of the amount drawn secretly away by the coolies working in our mines and factories.

How much money is taken or sent away by those who will give no statement cannot be known; but it is believed by many who are quite competent to judge that \$25,000,000

will not be too high a figure to place the money taken from the United States to China during the last year.

What country trades with China that has not the balance of trade in favor of China? Why should we desire to trade with a country to whom we have to pay tribute?

When the contemplated 10,000 miles of railroad is built in China, and these subtle, cunning, industrious and cheapliving people appreciate their own strength, then comes to the Eastern States some of the realizations now existing in the Pacific States.

The Pacific States are, in a measure, a barrier to the Eastern States as against Chinese invasion; but to the products of the manufactures of the seaport towns of Asia, the Eastern cities must, in the markets of the world, be prepared for a competition such as never existed before. In the fate which will inevitably overtake them let them have "no rioting," "no hoodlums;" but let them act as they now preach, and, as Beecher suggests, "if they cannot beat the Chinamen they must be contented to be beaten by them." Who believes that the future in New York, Boston and Philadelphia, will show less hostility to the Chinese than San Francisco? Surely, they are only those who do not know how desperate the conflict is between the races in the labor field.

The Opening of Asiatic Ports the First Step to National Suicide.

It is a curious feature of the progress of China that she has been compelled to all her foreign relations. In 1796 the Emperor prohibited the use of opium, and means were taken to stay its use. In after years Great Britain opened five ports to its own commerce, took the Island of Hong Kong, demanded \$21,000,000 as an indemnity, and then forced the opium trade upon the natives.

How the bees swarm and multiply when the hives are opened; how the boomerang often returns to destroy the thrower; how vengeance often smites the wrong-doer; may be paralleled when the Chinamen, by their dexterous and cheap labor, begin to close British workshops.

War gave its victories to Great Britain. The victories of peace will rest with China.

The effect of railroads connecting distant provinces is to bring all the people in daily communication in the affairs of commerce and of state.

These daily associations tend to destroy castes and prejudices, and lead to unity and consolidation. In India there was open to traffic in March, 1885, more than 12,000 miles of railroad, and there was under contract for construction 3,550. To double or treble the number of miles of railroad will be to double or treble the resources of the country; and if 12,000 miles of railroad does open a country which can lessen the value of wheat throughout the world, what may the additional miles do with cotton and other products of the soil?

There being 26,000,000 Britons and 266,000,000 Hindostanees, how long will it be before that country becomes an independent sovereignty?

The coal-beds of Europe have long been worked; each year the difficulty of working increases as the time of exhaustion approaches. The exhaustion of the coal beds means the departure of manufactures and the approach of political decrepitude.

The coal beds of Asia are but being opened; raw material, as silk, cotton, flax, jute, etc., can be produced at prices to compete with the world. The mines of metal are abundant. The labor costs one-third the price of labor in England. Now, take the lesson that has been taught in the Pacific States, but which is not now understood nor appreciated east of the Rocky Mountains. The Englishmen as well as the American are displaced by the Mongolian as factory hands, as laborers in the mechanic arts, as tradesmen, as owners and operators of extensive manufacturing works, as commercial operators, as shippers, as controllers of monopolies and as directors of corporations, etc. As laborers, because of the nimble fingers, extraordinary working capacity, many hours of labor, and the low price for which their economic habits fit them to labor. As operators, because of their acute cunning, thorough lack of conscientious scruples to

adopt any means to accomplish desired ends, their power of directing great numbers of their own countrymen to any enterprise, and the great amount of capital they can bring to their aid.

From all these, and much more which may be presented to our reflection, may we not reasonably apprehend that the future of manufacturing England is being shadowed? And that the curse of the commercial avarice which opened the Asiatic ports to British trade will be visited unto the generations following?

In Japan and China, the inventions and machinery of the Europeans are earnestly sought for. Mining is carried on at the Kelung and Kaiping collieries, and in many other mines, with European machinery. Railroads and telegraph lines are being built.

The China Merchants' Steam Navigation Company, owned and operated by the Chinese, runs thirty steamboats. Tientsin and Foochow will soon be lighted with gas. In the dockyards native Chinese handle foreign tools and machinery with great success in building boats, engines, etc., and manufacturing establishments are being constructed in the seaport towns.

Commerce with a Nation which produces but does not Consume, will Exhaust the Nations which have the Balance of Trade Against Them.

Machinery has so multipled the productive capacity of men that trade has the surfeit of over-production; factories are in their workings limited to a partial time, and laborers cannot find full employment. What will be the effect of adding many millions of laborers to the already too great number? Will it not be disastrous unless we can add consumers adequate to take up and exhaust all that the additional laborers produce?

The Chinamen in California who have, from mining or mercantile ventures, become millionaires, wear the same style of clothing now that they were when they entered the State twenty years ago, and but of little finer texture. They live in small apartments, and they limit all their personal expenditures to the smallest amount practicable to their present condition. Thousands of years of oppressed and economic living has so stamped the mind of Chinamen that extravagant expenditure for personal adornment or for comfort or display is not natural to them, and can only be acquired by an almost total change of their mental attributes. It may be said that as a user-up or destroyer of the products of manufacture, it is rare to find a rich Chinese family as extravagant or the equal of the family of an ordinary tradesman of the European race.

On the one hand the Chinese are not now, nor never will be, in proportion to their number, great consumers; and on the other hand a Chinese laborer can equal the production of a white laborer. When 350,000,000 of these Asiatics are supplied with the improved machinery of European manufacturers, where will be found the compensating number to use up the product of their factories?

China, above all other countries, is better endowed for an exporting, with no probability of ever becoming a great importing country. If, without machinery, China can make all nations pay the tribute of the balance of trade in her favor, what will she probably do when the machinery, now beginning to be introduced, goes into operation?

The sources of supply of Asiatic labor, to wit: Japan, China, Hindostan, contiguous territories and islands, equal a population of 800,000,000—a number double that of the European race, and shown in the lessons given in the Pacific States to be competent to take the place of white laborers. That number will, in the future, stamp the price and dictate the hours of labor; and the toilers whose skins are fair, and who are of a nobler and more dignified manhood, must succumb to the degradation following the competition.

Trade is chiefly valuable to a nation when, by exchange, the exports exceed the imports. China is now manufacturing many goods which we formerly exported there. Our export of manufactured goods to China is already becoming less. We import three times as much more in value from China

than we export to China. They who expect to change that order of trade are dreamers, and do not fully appreciate the fact that factories built in the seaports of China can work labor at less than twenty cents a day. Gravity does not more persistently cause water to seek its channels in the lowest places, than does competition direct the trade and manufacturing interests to the countries of the cheapest labor and production.

As Silent, Irresistible, and Inevitable, as a Mighty River, China pours forth its Millions, to Populate and Command the Labor and the Trade of the Islands and Nations of the Pacific.

Baron Alexander von Hubner, the Austrian Ambassador to France, who has recently returned from his travels around the world, delivered a discourse at the Oriental Museum in Vienna, the following extracts of which are taken from the able and exhaustive Report of the Special Committee to the Board of Supervisors of the city of San Francisco:

"The war of England and France against the Celestial Empire was an historical fact of world-wide importance, not because of the military successes achieved—the most famous of which was the plunder and destruction of the Imperial Summer Palace at Pekin—but because the allies cast down the walls through which 400,000,000 of inhabitants were hermetically closed in from the outside world. With the intention of opening China to the Europeans, the globe has been thrown open to the Chinese. Who travels now-a-days through the interior of the Flowery Kingdom? No one, with the exception of the Missionaries, whose presence was already tolerated there, and in addition to these there are a few explorers. But the Chinese are streaming over the greater part of the globe, and are also forming colonies, albeit after their own fashion. Highly gifted, although inferior to the Caucasian in the highest spheres of mental activity; endowed with untiring industry; temperate to the utmost abstemiousness; frugal; a born merchant; a first-class cultivator, especially in gardening; distinguished in every kind of handicraft, the son of the Middle Kingdom, slowly, surely and unremarked is supplanting the Europeans wherever they are

brought together. I am speaking of them only as I have found them. In 1871 the entire English trade with China, amounting then as now to £42,000,000 sterling, was transacted through English firms. The four great houses, of which one was American, were in Shanghai, while the smaller ones were distributed among the treaty ports. Added to these were the middle-men, as the sale of English imports in the interior of the Empire was effected through native merchants. In addition to this the firm of Russell & Co. owned twenty steamers that kept up the commercial intercourse between the treaty ports, extending to the Yangtse river. Now-a-days, with the exception of some great influential English firms, all the same trade, together with the Russell steamers, has passed into the hands of Chinese merchants or of Chinese corporations. In Macao, since nearly 400 years in possession of the Portuguese, are to be seen magnificent palaces, some of which date from the sixteenth century; they are situated in the finest part of the city, where the Chinese were not in the habit of building; and yet the greater number of these palaces have passed by purchase into the hands of rich Chinese and are now inhabited by them.

"On my first visit to Singapore, in 1871, the population consisted of 100 white families, of 20,000 Malays and a few thousand Chinese. On my return there in the beginning of 1884 the population was divided, according to the official census, into 100 white families, 20,000 Malays and 86,000 Chinese. A new Chinese town had sprung up, with magnificent stores, beautiful residences and pagodas. I imagined that I was transported to Canton. The country lying to the south point of Indo-China, which a few years ago was almost uninhabited, is now filling up with Chinese. The number of the sons of the Flowery Kingdom who emigrated to that point and to Singapore amounted to 100,000 in 1882, to 150,000 in 1883, and last year an important increase to these numbers was expected.

"I never met more Chinese in San Francisco than I did last summer, and in Australia the Chinese element is ever increasing in importance. To a man who will do the same work for half price all doors are open. Even in the South Sea Islands the influence of Chinese labor is already felt. The important trade of the Gilbert Islands is in the hands of a great Chinese firm. On the Sandwich Islands the sons of the Middle Kingdom are spreading every year. The North Americans, until now the rulers of that island under the native kings of Hawaii, are already feeling the earth shake under their feet, as in vain they resist these inroads. All

these things have I seen with mine own eyes, excepting in Chile and Peru, countries that I did not visit. From official documents, however, I extract the fact that, since 1860, 200,000 Chinese have landed there—an enormous number, considering the small European population in those countries.

"Europe, with her 300,000,000; China, with her 400,-000,000, represent, with the exception of India, the two most over-populated parts of the world. Both send their sons to foreign climes. They consist of two mighty streams, of which one is white and the other yellow. In the annals of history there is no mention of the migration of such immense masses of people. A series of questions now arises. How will the status of the old continent be affected by the emigration of so many of its sons? Now, suffering from a plethora, after such a severe bleeding, will Europe remain in a full, healthy condition, or, similar to Spain, will she lapse into a state of anemia? Who can tell? What fate is in store for the young, rising, aspiring Powers of Central Asia that are neither kingdoms nor republics, and what will be the reactionary effect on the mother country and on Europe? We do not know. What will be the result of the meeting of these white and yellow streams? Will they flow peacefully on parallel lines in their respective channels, or will their commingling lead to chaotic events? We cannot tell. Will Christian society and Christian civilization in their present form disappear, or will they emerge victorious from the conflict, carrying their living, fruitful, everlasting principles to all the corners of the earth? We cannot know. These are the unsolved problems, the secrets of the future, hidden within the womb of time. What we now distinguish is only the first clangor of the overture of the great drama of the coming times. The curtain is not rung up, as the plot is only to be worked out in the twentieth century."

How the Californians warmed the Serpents into Life.

Of the Asiatics who come to the Pacific States, the Chinese are the most subtle, cunning and aggressive, and, as such, they are the most feared by merchants and wage-workers. A history of their insiduous introduction in the Western part of the United States may be seen repeating itself in insiduous and gradual introduction in the Eastern States.

A Book, illustrated by Voegtlin, called "Chinese in California" contains many important statistics of the gradual increase of the Chinese in California. A few extracts from this work are given below.

On the 1st of January, 1850, having been attracted by the gold, there were in California, of Chinese, 789 men and 2 women. In January, 1851, there were 4,018 men and 7 women. In May, 1852, 11,780 men and 7 women. At this time the State tried to stay the current of immigration by imposing a tax as a license to mine. In 1868, when the Burlingame treaty was ratified, there had arrived in California, according to estimate, about 80,000 Chinese. How many Chinese there are in the United States now, no person knows, as a census of the rats in your barn is easier taken than a proper count of Chinamen.

By agreement, and under the auspices of the agents of the companies in the British City of Hong Kong (called here the Six Companies) who have banded together to compel the coolies to fulfil their contracts with them, all of the Chinese have come to this country; their passage and expenses being paid by the Companies, to be repaid with large interest by the labor of the coolies.

The coolies' obligation to these Companies is greater than to the State; the fear of their vengeance, and lest that their bodies may not be returned to China by these Companies in case of their death, compels them to the utmost servility; and they dread the judgments of the tribunal of the Six Companies more than they do the judgments of the State Courts.

For many years after the Chinaman first made his appearance in California he was looked at as a curiosity; his oblique eyes, pigtail, costume, manners, utterance, all was amusing and interesting; to this was added his innocent smile and docile manners, which quite gained the goodwill and even the affections of the people. Then the goodhearted commenced the missionary work and opened Sabbath Schools and led them to the altars of the churches and sought to save their souls. They had picnics given to them and were entertained as no white persons ever were by Christian missionaries.

The Graveyards show but few Permanent Conversions of Chinese.

After many years of patient exertion it was found that the Christian work bore no fruit; that the Chinaman went to Sabbath School only to learn to read and write the English language. That so long as his employers dressed him well, gave him Sunday as a holiday, and paid him extra wages, just so long he would appear as a devout Christian. He was ready to profess his love for the Lord and Jesus Christ at any time you would give him an extra dollar a week for his wages; and upon your withdrawal of the allowance, he would backslide even to mocking the efforts of the kind ladies and ministers who sought to make a Christian of him.

"Me foolee clistian minister, heap sabbee leed alle same Melican man, belly good, no wantee Jesus Clist."

"One of the most pleasant-looking graveyards in the City Cemetery is that of the Christian Chinese. Evergreens, gum trees and willows are planted there. When the plot was obtained there was probably a hope that all the Chinese in the State were to be converted, as there is room enough for thousands of graves in this burial ground, but notwith-standing its capacious size and agreeable surroundings, only eight persons are buried in this spot, and two of them are Japanese, who lay by each other apart from the Chinese. Little marble headstones are over the graves. On one is this inscription: 'Lum Sing Choy, Died November 28, 1883, aged 38 years. Trusting in the Lord.' On another is: 'Ah Kay, Died June 22, 1882, aged 18 years. Having found the Saviour.'

"The headstones over the Japanese record the deaths of M. Sugawara and Okita Toyo Jiro, who 'Died in the faith

of Christ.'"

The very graveyards testify to the small fruits of thirty-five years of Christian efforts among the Chinese on the Pacific Coast.

The stories told by missionaries of the conversions of Chinese are for the most part such exaggerations as to become positive falsehoods.

If any have been converted to Christ, and are not kept in the Christian faith by a direct pecuniary gain, they are not found in California by any ordinary discoverer. On the other hand, by the introduction of foul diseases and the enticing of young white men and women into their opium dens, they have ruined more bodies and destroyed the bright future of more souls than all the missionaries of America have ever converted of Chinese.

The Chinese have bought several Christian Churches to make Joss-houses, but not in one case have Christians bought a Joss-house.

Let the kind ladies and gentlemen of the East who are trying to make wings grow from Chinese shoulder-blades, when they get a Chinaman to love the Lord, discharge him, or lessen his wages, and then they will discover whether the Chinaman was using the Sabbath School as a way to heaven, or a way to gain, by learning to read "alle same Melican man."

Their Insidious, Subtle, and Relentless Attack; and their Victory in the Fields of Industry.

First, the Chinese established wash-houses at proper distances, and in every town in the Pacific States. Then poor women could get no more washing to do. Then the Chinese learned to cook, by working a few months for very low wages, hiring themselves to the wives of mechanics or tradesmen, who taught them how to cook as a compensation, in part, for their labor.



Becoming experts, they soon displaced women as cooks. Then they applied themselves to the sewing-machine; and being stronger than women they took the place of women at the sewing-machine. Then they entered the cotton, silk, woolen, shoe and other factories, and soon the white hands were discharged to make room for the Chinese.

In a little time very many of the factories were bought by wealthy Chinamen, who organized them as joint stock companies. For the reason that a boss Chinaman can hire a laboring Chinaman at from ten to twenty per cent. less than a white person can hire him, the factories owned by the Chinese can undersell the factories owned by the white man. As a result, the Chinese have been enabled to purchase the manufacturing plant from Americans often at a sacrifice.

It is well to understand this, for it has most important bearings on all the enterprises undertaken either in America or China: that a Chinese merchant or manufacturer can always command the labor of his own countrymen at a considerable per cent. less than a European can.

This fact has enabled them to take from foreigners the trade of the seaport towns of China which was once held by Europeans.

In the Yangtse-Kiang river, and the ports of Chin-Kiang and Hang-Choo, the Chinese have taken the transportation and trade from foreigners.

Why Boss Chinamen Command the Situation.

The lessons taught in California are that Chinese labor is the most abundant and the cheapest, and that a Boss Chinaman can command that labor at from ten to twenty per cent. less than the European. As a result, Chinese capitalists can run factories and operate in trade, at from ten to twenty per cent. of an advantage over Europeans.

The lessons taught in China are that factories and steamers, built by foreigners, are now run by Chinese and owned by them, and that the commercial enterprises inaugurated by Europeans are fast falling into the hands of the Chinese.

It being a positive truth that a Chinese merchant or capitalist can command the labor of his countrymen at a less price than a European, and that they are competent to manage extensive manufacturing establishments, of silk, cotton, woolen, jute and other material, and turn out from their factories almost everything the European can; where, then, is the opening in the trade with China which the Eastern merchant finds is of such importance as to justify the sacrifice of the white people on the Pacific Coast?

All that Chinese Labor has Accomplished could have been Better Done by White Labor.

To justify themselves in the crime of condemning the Pacific States to a coolie system, which they themselves would not endure without more mob violence and murder than has been committed on the Pacific Coast, the presumptuous moralist and the press of the Atlantic States advance the argument that "without Chinese labor the Pacific States would not have advanced as rapidly as they have done." It may be said in reply, that an advancement with an incubus like the contamination of the Chinese, is like the growth of a child with a malignant tumor upon his back. At the time of manhood death comes of the malignancy.

They who now enter the Pacific States in search of homes are of the well-grounded opinion, that it would have been better for the future of these States if their growth had been much slower. The owners of large tracts of land, who have desired to realize in their time the highest price, are believers in a rapid growth, but they who by their labor make homes for all time, by subjecting the land to the best of cultivation, would have been better contented with a slower growth.

It is advanced by the transcontinentals that the Chinamen have been of benefit because they built the railroads. More miles of railroad were built at the same time, and under similar endowment, by the Union Pacific with white labor than were built by the Central Pacific with Chinese labor. The money paid for the labor of the construction of the Union Pacific remained in the country, and many of the laborers

on that road afterwards made comfortable homes on the land which now pays, and will forever pay tribute to the road. The money paid out for labor by the Central Pacific, for the most part, was sent to Asia, and the Chinese have not made homes on the contiguous land to pay a like tribute to the road. To say the Central Pacific Railroad Company could not get white laborers is a superficial absurdity. They wanted the cheaper labor, and therefore took the Chinese. There has not been a mile of railroad constructed on the Pacific Coast which could not have been done by white labor. If the directors, who let the contracts to themselves, had been contented with pocketing less of the profits of construction, and if they had sought to find white labor where it could easily have been found, there would have been no need of employing the Chinese.

The Golden Placer's Tribute to China.

For thirty-five years the Chinamen have been working in the placer mines. The largest portion of the gold taken out by them has been sent to China. All they have taken out would have been, in proper time, taken out by white men, and it would have remained in the country. When men temporarily leave a placer mine to work a better one, it is not such an abandonment as should give its proceeds to a foreign country; for that which is not the best one year becomes the best the following. When men left a claim paying eight dollars for one paying ten, they expected to return to it when the ten dollar claim became exhausted. When the Chinese took possession of the claim it was forever closed against the European. The leech is no more earnest to get the last drop of blood than the Chinaman is to exhaust.

Californians have rushed into wine-making and fruit-raising without proper deliberation or experience. They have planted improper kinds of grapes, as a result, made some very bad wine, and the memory of wine-drinkers will for a long time affect the drinking of the better wine now made. They have planted fruit trees without proper care in selection. Because of the number of acres

put into orchards, the production is beyond the capacity of the market. If they had had no Chinese labor the winegrowers and the fruit-producers would have been slower; they would have exercised better judgment and with better results.

The Rivers Protest and Wash Away their Works.

The work of reclamation of swamp lands by the hands of the Chinese was done by taking the dirt from the surface of the land on the border of a water-course and loosely piling it up as a levee. Nearly all this work has been washed away by the high waters of the winters, and there are now but few, if any, successful reclamations of swamp land which have been made by Chinese labor.

Americans now do the work of reclamation (in most cases on the land which has been once leveed by the Chinese) by getting the heavy material from the bottom of the river and placing it into levees by the aid of steam dredgers. This manner of reclamation is a success. Had not the temptation of cheap labor been presented, the Americans would have built the steam dredgers before this time. The works of the Chinamen having been so easily washed away, many have been discouraged, and the belief of the impracticability of reclamation has become so general as to seriously impede the progress. If the taking of the surface dirt, to make levees with hand labor, had never been attempted, machine work would have long before this proved reclamation a positive success.

The Chinese have at no time in the history of the Pacific States been of benefit sufficient to offset the vice and demoralization they have caused by their presence.

The Change which has Come to the Minds of Californians.

Even they who believe that rapid development was the better policy do now advocate the expulsion of the Chinese, as being destructive to the future welfare of the country. They were pro-Chinese; they are now anti-Chinese. The

same mental change will occur to all except the fanatics of the Eastern States. The pro-Chinese will deny and repudiate all they now utter.

The interrogation comes very often from the East: "If the Chinese are such a curse why do you employ them?" They who ask that question, always employ the cheapest and most available labor themselves. Did not Pennsylvania mineowners bring the low Hungarians? And are the Massachusetts manufacturers blameless in the employment of the lowclass French of Canada? They affect to believe that club and gambling houses, liquor saloons, houses of prostitution, pugilistic encounters, cock-fighting, lotteries and evil assemblies are bad in themselves, and tend to vitiate and demoralize the community: But they patronize them all the same, and without their patronage they could not exist to so great an extent. They repeat the Decalogue every Sabbath, and violate its commandments before the next. They would do unto others as they would have others do unto them, and then in preaching, voting and influence do all they can to blast the bright hopes of their brothers and sisters who dwell on the Pacific Coast.

The Chinese are Bolder Strikers than the Knights of Labor.

They say in the East: "They are tired of strikes, labor organizations and the quarrelsome Irish." Upon the theory of one extreme following another, they are prepared to "swallow a camel." They take to their embrace the leprous, opium-smoking Chinaman, as if that "innocent and peaceful stranger" were not as rampant in striking as the "vilest European."

In Asia the superabundance of labor will prevent strikes. In the United States, strikes can be successful only as long as the labor field is not abundantly supplied. Labor is an article of trade, its value is governed by its scarcity or abundance.

The number of Chinese in the United States is not so great as to cause them to enter into competition with them-

selves; the Six Companies' organization, so direct the laborers, and so apportion them to different sections, that they do not conflict with each other.

It is a fact that should not be lost sight of, Chinamen do not work for one cent less wages than may be necessary to take the occupation from the white laborer; and in every case where they have acquired the monopoly they have advanced the prices beyond what they were before. If a white man works for a dollar a day, and ninety-five or ninety cents will cause his removal, the Chinaman will work for that price, and when the white man is discharged and has left, the Chinaman will strike for higher wages. If a woman earns fifty cents a day the Chinaman will work for forty or forty-five cents until he gets the trade, then he will demand higher wages.

Every man of the Pacific States will testify that strikes for higher wages have been quite as frequent, if not more so, with the Chinese as with the whites, their number being taken into consideration. In some factories in California they have struck and quit the factory because the owner employed white men and women. When the owner discharged the white laborers, the Chinese returned to work.

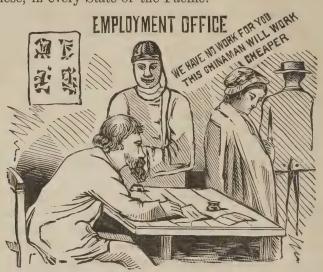
The Chinese suspend the work of a factory until the white men and women are discharged! The Knights of Labor cannot muster as much gall as that!

The Chinese have the monopoly of the pork trade on the Pacific. To a butcher who offends them they will not sell any portion of a hog.

No tyrants are more arbitrary when in power than these simple-looking, "childlike and bland" creatures, whom President Cleveland calls "peaceful and innocent strangers."

They have Possession of the Lower Rung of the Ladder.

The progress from poverty to affluence may be likened unto the climbing up a ladder. When a man is absolutely depending each day for his bread upon his labor, he can rise only by putting his foot upon the lower rung of the ladder. If that rung is not there, he cannot rise unless some aid is given to him to place him on a higher rung. The lower rung of the ladder is in the possession of the Chinese, in every State of the Pacific.



Adversity has overtaken a brother; he applies at the door of a factory, he is denied admittance because the Chinamen are in possession; he applies to the tradesman and the farmer; he can get no work; the Asiatics have filled all the places; the lower rung of the ladder is in their hands.

A sister in poverty, because of the loss of her protector, asks for work on the sewing machine; she cannot get the work because the sewing machine is almost exclusively worked by Chinese. She asks to become a cook, a chambermaid or a washwoman; these places are occupied by the Chinese. She can get no work. The lower rung of the ladder is taken from her.

Do you wonder that there are "hoodlums", "prostitutes" and all that depravity can manifest in humanity, or that crime and violence exist, or that men who are denied the privilege to work for their bread resort to the destruction of the covert enemies?

The steam-engine has not brains, yet it accomplishes work as of millions of men, even to the extent of producing more than can be used; but with the surfeit and over-production from this cause, the moral atmosphere is not tainted. Asiatic labor adds millions of hands to production, and brings no market for the produce. With the Asiatic comes such a degradation to labor as makes the superior race shudder at the fate which compels them to work by their side. The history of the pork monopoly by the Chinese is brief. A boss Chinaman buys hogs, butchers them, sells to his own countrymen, who eat every part of the hog, including the entrails, and almost everything thrown away by the white butchers. The hind quarters and best parts are sold to the white butchers. The profit of the China butcher is in the refuse parts the Chinese eat, and which the white butcher usually throws to hogs. This percentage in their favor enables the Chinamen to command the pork butchery.

The Mixture of Races and its Demoralization.

Our ancestors living in the colonies bordering on the Atlantic Ocean, two hundred and fifty years ago, were engaged in the lucrative trade of bringing negroes from Africa to America. They continued to sell them into slavery as long as the trade proved profitable. The ministers of the period entered into the spirit of the commercial enterprise of their congregations, and they proclaimed in triumphant tones from their pulpits on each Sabbath day that "the hand of God was being put forth to bring the heathen of Africa to where they could sit under the dispensation of the Gospel and have their souls rescued from the damnation of hell."

From these same pulpits (supported by a generation following, who had discovered that their fathers' commercial avarice and hypocrisy was a crime against humanity and demoralizing to the nation) came violent denunciations against slavery, and following these was written the bloodiest record in the book of time—the war for the partial washing away of the curse bestowed upon us by our forefathers. The curse of our ancestors' venality was so damnable, that even the blood of a million soldiers (their own children) could not

destroy it. Go, now, into the Southern States; see the mixture of black and white children in the same play grounds. Go into the fields, or the workshop, and behold the bright-faced Caucasian drawn down to the level of the negro. Over the fair fields, beautiful country and soft climate of the South, why hangs the pall of stagnation and almost total non-

progression?

You will ask: why don't they educate the negro? The answer comes: have not the negroes of the North for generations been educated by absolute contact with the highest civilization, and, being few in numbers, been kept, in a measure, from the demoralization resulting from association with their own race, and what progress have they made? In the South, if you educate a negro, he falls back, almost to his original baseness, after long association with his old companions. If the millions of the North cannot make the few negroes progressive, how much more difficult to advance the negro in the South? The physician may cure a patient of typhoid fever if preserved from the causes which promoted the disease, but if intense malaria exists in the atmosphere around, the probabilities of cure are much lessened. If not because of the existence of the negro in the Southern States, why do the emigrants turn from its soft airs to the blizzards of the North? The South was more conquered when the negro was left to shadow all its future, than when its armies were destroyed.

If greater examples of the evils of a mixed population were needed we might look to Mexico, the South American States, Turkey, and to all the Islands where mixed races exist. How history repeats itself, even in the same country and among the same people! The slave traffic, with all its enormities, was sheltered by the ministers of the Gospel, who proclaimed that "God was sending the heathen of Africa to drink of the waters of life."

Moralists who Embrace the Mongolian, and Debase their Brothers of a Higher Intelligence.

And now, in the same land, and, in some instances, from the same pulpit, and to the descendants of the vile traders whose commercial enterprises caused them to build ships and bring slaves to this country, ministers of the Gospel are preaching that God is at the same kind of work, and is "bringing the heathen Chinese to where the light of the Gospel will penetrate his soul and save him from everlasting punishment."

And editors are following!—but not in a Gospel light. They see, in a malarial light, an ignis fatuus. They think they see commercial gain—gain with a people who are not consumers but producers; gain with a people who are our superiors in cunning, deceit, and every attribute of commercial And they would have every steamer, with its low fares, bring millions of yellow-skins to darken the social state; have our children at school play with the sons and daughters of leprosy; commingle with them in every association of life, in our houses, in our temples, in the workshop, the factory, the street, and all places set apart for trade or commerce. They would have them teach our sons. whose morals have been most preciously guarded by us during their tender years, and our daughters, dearer to us than our lives, the smoking of opium, and, in its horrid fumes, cause us to see pass forever all the bright hopes we have had of their temporal and eternal welfare.

Already have the Chinese populated the islands of the Pacific so as to control its labor. Now they are entering Mexico and the British Possessions. Soon, from the North and the South, the East and the West, they will come in over the borders and, as rats do, prey upon the substance of the people.

Behold the consistency with their professions, and the thorough recklessness as to what they confer on their children. Our Puritan ancestors fled from the land of oppression to America. Almost their first commercial ventures were, whilst prating of the "brotherhood of man," to bring

negroes into slavery. And now, under the same avaricious impulses and in the pursuit of commercial profit, the editors, ministers, and merchants, of the Eastern cities are seeking to debase the high and intellectual condition of the people by mixing with them a race whose touch is contamination. The doctrine of the "universal brotherhood of man" would find none of the present exponents of the same opinion if, by some power, each of them, could be linked, as the Siamese twins, to a Chinaman.

They who wrote that all men were "born free and equal" went to their homes and whipped their slaves to labor. A more inconsistent class of people, now in the places they occupied, condemn, by the power of their numbers and their votes and their influence, men and women of the highest civilization and culture, their brothers and sisters, to the debasement and contamination of contact with the most degraded of races, who have invaded the Pacific States from the islands and mainland of Asia. And why? Is it because they, like young maidens, have fallen in love at first sight with the Mongolian, and are ready to abandon father and mother, brothers and sisters? Or is it because they expect a lucrative trade with the Chinese? Or is it because they hate the Irish and other European emigrants, and fly to a worse extreme?

The Testimony Presented by the Supervisors of San Francisco.

In July, 1885, the Committee appointed by the Board of Supervisors of the City of San Francisco (Messrs. W. B. Farwell, E. B. Pond and John E. Kunkler) made a thorough examination of the quarters occupied by the Chinese. Their report was endorsed by all the Supervisors and the Mayor of the city, and it was printed for public distribution. From this report we take the following, regretting that the entire report could not be seen and read by every man in the United States:

"All great cities have their slums and localities where filth, disease, crime and misery abound; but in the very

best aspect which Chinatown can be made to present, it must stand apart, conspicuous and beyond them all in the extreme degree of these horrible attributes, the rankest outgrowth of human degradation that can be found upon this continent. Here it may be truly said that human beings exist under conditions (as regards their mode of life and the air they breathe) scarcely one degree above those which the rats of our water-front and other vermin live, breathe and have their being. And this order of things seems inseparable from the very nature of the Chinese race."

How the Young are Allured to Destruction.

Dr. Toland, the founder of the Toland Medical College, testified before the Committee:

"I have seen boys eight and ten years old with syphilitic diseases, which they told me they had contracted of Chinawomen on Jackson street. It is astonishing how soon they commence indulging in that passion. Some of the worst cases I have ever seen occur in children ten or twelve years



Prostitutes enticing young men.

When Dr. Toland was asked to what extent these diseases came from Chinese prostitutes, he said:

"I suppose nine-tenths. When these persons come to me I ask them where they got the disease. They generally

tell me that they have been with a Chinawoman. I am satisfied from my experience that nearly all the boys in town who have venereal disease contracted it in Chinatown. They have no difficulty there, for the prices are so low they can go whenever they please. He had never heard or read of any country in the world where there are so many children diseased as there are in San Francisco."

Dr. J. C. Shorb testified before the Committee, and said:

"The presence of Chinese women here has made prostitution exceedingly cheap, and it has given these boys an opportunity to gratify themselves at very slight cost. I have had boys from twelve years up to eighteen and nineteen—any number of them—afflicted with syphilis contracted from Chinese prostitutes. The extent of the evil is very general, and I suppose my experience must be the experience of all the physicians in San Francisco who are in full practice."

James R. Rogers testified that he had been special police officer in the Chinese quarter four or five years; that the prostitutes "are held as slaves, bought and sold. They are held as prostitutes, and are obliged, by what they call their mother, the head woman or boss of the institution, to stand at the windows and doors and solicit prostitution. Most of the Chinese houses of prostitution are patronized by whites—by young men and old ones. I have taken boys of not more than ten or twelve years of age from out of these houses. The schedule of prices is such that boys can afford to go there and patronize them."

A mountain of testimony is of like character, and to publish it would be only cumulative. The enticement of children into these dens of pollution for the purpose of getting from them ten, fifteen, or twenty-five cents, is carried to the extent that the blood of the rising generation will be so contaminated, that hereditary diseases will extend far into future generations.

These prostitutes are as much the slaves of their owners as ever the negroes were in the South, and the proceeds of their iniquity goes into the purses of the men who purchased and now own them. These women were bought for a price, imported under a contract, and are sold for a price. They have a market value in this republic where slavery was abolished by the blood of millions of our soldiers. Let no minister of the Gospel, no pro-Chinese editor, no man,

"who is like an egg—so full of himself that he won't hold any more," none who cannot understand or take in the condition of things on the Pacific Coast, dispute this statement until they have learned more than they now know of the Chinese.

Slavery de facto et non de jure.—The Existence of Slavery Acknowledged, but by the U.S. laws none but Africans can be Slaves.

In May, 1886, Lee Ah Dot and Yu Gem were arrested upon complaint of Wan Ah Wong, under Section 5377 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, charging them with holding six Chinese women, purchased as slaves in China, imported to the United States and hired out for immoral purposes. The prisoners appeared before Judges Hoffman and Sabin of the United States District Court on writs of habeas corpus. Their arrests were made under the law of 1818, and involved the question whether slavery may now legally exist in the United States. The statute provides that every person who brings within the jurisdiction of the United States any negro, mulatto, or person of color, from any foreign country, or who sells or holds such a person as a slave, shall be fined not more than \$10,000 nor less than \$1,000, and shall be imprisoned at hard labor not more than seven nor less than three years.

The Court held (there being no testimony taken, and upon presentation of the case as charged) that "the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution abolished slavery in the United States, and that it did not, therefore, exist within our territory. It was further held that a Mongolian is not a person of color, within the meaning of Section 5377 of the Revised Statutes, and that the law of 1818 only applies to negroes. If any persons were held in involuntary servitude the offense could not be prosecuted for holding them as slaves, for the law does not recognize the existence of slavery here. The remedy should be found in the State laws." The Chinamen were discharged.

The United States Courts cannot find a remedy for as absolute slavery as ever existed in the South! When the United States Courts say the remedy lies in the State Courts

in any case where a Chinaman is concerned, they become facetious, and perpetrate a "minstrel" joke to be laughed at; for these very Courts have upset every State law made to meet such cases.

Where now are the Abolitionists, who once so abhorred slavery that they have purged the nation of the curse? A slavery now exists without a remedy.

The Cubic Air Ordinance.

The Board of Health of San Francisco, for the protection of all, suggested that a certain space should be allowed in each dwelling for sanitary purposes. The Board of Supervisors passed an ordinance to that effect. The space allowed was that which was necessary to the healthful existence of a white man. The following table shows how Chinamen can live and sleep in apartments so crowded that it would endanger the lives of white men if subjected to it. This table is a fair type of the common manner of living in Chinatown.

STREET.	No.	FLOOR.	Number of occupants allowed under the Cubic Air law.	Number of actual occupants.
Dupont	814 1/2	Sub Basement	9	32
66	44	Basement	21	70
	66	First Floor	7	46
66	44	Second Floor	26	60
	46	Third Floor	34	68
Sacramento	817	Basement	6	24
Bartlett Alley		Basement	16	68
66 66		First Floor	6	14
Oneida Place		10 rooms, First Floor	31	94
Brooklyn Place		First Floor	4	24
Jackson	624	Basement	3	5
66	628	Basement	3	14
***************************************	632	Basement	2	6
46	46	First Floor	3	16
46	620	Basement	3	14
*6	622	Basement	4	20-
66	6.6	Basement.	6	30
	66	First Story	3	6
	615	Basement	3	16
Washington	737	Second Story	3	8
66	735	Basement	10	34
66	733	Second Story	4	12
Brenham Place	9	Second Story	8	24
66 66	4.6	Third Story	8	18
66 66	66	Fourth Story	6	22
Clay	767	Second Story	7	22
	46	Second Story	4	12
**	804	Second Story	2	8
	809	Basement	3	20
66	812	Second Story	5	16

"Descend into the basement of almost any building in Chinatown at night; pick your way by the aid of the policeman's candle along the dark and narrow passage-way, black and grimy with a quarter of a century's accumulation of filth; step with care lest you fall into a cesspool of sewage, abominations with which these subterranean depths abound. Now follow your guide through a door, which he forces, into a sleeping-room. The air is thick with smoke and fetid with an indescribable odor of reeking vapors. The atmosphere is tangible. Tangible—if we may be licensed to so use the word in this instance—to four out of the five human senses. Tangible to the sight, tangible to the touch, tangible to the taste, and, oh, how tangible to the smell! You may even hear it as the opium-smoker sucks it through his pipe bowl into his tainted lungs, and you breathe it yourself as if it were of the substance and tenacity of tar. It is a sense of a horror you have never before experienced, revolting to the last degree, sickening and stupefying. Through this semi-opaque atmosphere you discover perhaps eight or ten-never less than two or three-bunks, the greater part or all of which are occupied by two persons, some in a state of stupefaction from opium, some rapidly smoking them-selves into that condition, and all in dirt and filth. Before the door was opened for your entrance every aperture was closed, and here, had they not been thus rudely disturbed, they would have slept in that dense and poisonous atmosphere until morning, proof against the baneful effects of the carbonic acid gas generated by this human defiance of chemical laws, and proof against all the zymotic poisons that would be fatal to a people of any other race in an hour of such surroundings and such conditions."

The Expenses of the Prison Greater than the Taxes Paid.

Mr. Badlam, Assessor of San Francisco, testifies:

"The population of San Francisco of the year 1884 is about two hundred and fifty thousand; of that about thirty thousand are Chinese. The Chinese pay about one-three-thousandth part of the taxes."

The Committee compiled, from the returns of the assessors of the counties in the State in 1884, the following:

"The assessed value of all the property in the State is, in round numbers, six hundred millions. The total population of the State is about 750,000, and the Chinese population is

more than one-sixth of the whole. The Chinese population, amounting to at least one-sixth of the whole, pay less than one-four-hundredth part of the revenue required to support the State government."

The net cost to the State for each prisoner is about thirty cents per day, and this without taking into consideration the cost of the prison buildings. The net cost to the State of keeping one hundred and ninety-eight Chinese prisoners in the State Prison is not less than \$21,600 per annum—a sum \$12,000 in excess of the whole amount of the taxes collected from all the Chinese of the State.

The millionaires of New York are not as expert in evading the assessors of that State as are the Chinese in California. Long custom of evading the demands of the mandarins in their own country have made them secretive and deceptive to the extent of owning nothing taxable when the assessors are about.

"The Peaceful and Innocent Strangers" to whom the Prison is as a First-class Hotel.

To human beings who relish as food the portions of animals rejected by the European, and feast on almost every unclean thing—creatures who can live, as seen in the statistics of the cubic air ordinance—the American prison is an acceptable change of diet and lodgings. The numbers who have been sent to the city and county jail for violating the cubic air ordinance are counted by the thousands. cunning to pay fines, they accept board and lodging in prison at the county's expense. To punish them is an impossibility, unless resort is had to that which would create a howl throughout the Eastern States, and call forth from the United States Courts the usual decision, "unconstitutional and conflicting with treaties." Of the adult population in the State the Chinese have committed far more murders, thefts and other great offences than the white population, in proportion to their number.

D. J. Murphy, formerly District Attorney and now Superior Judge, testified before the Committee:

"I have looked on my docket for two years and I find that of seven hundred cases that I have examined before the Grand Jury, one hundred and twenty were Chinese—principally burglaries, grand larcenies and murders. They are very adroit and expert thieves. I have not had time to examine for the last two and a half years, but the proportion has largely increased during that time. In capital cases particularly we are met with perjury. I have no doubt but that they act under the direction of superiors and swear as ordered. In many cases witnesses are spirited away, or alibis are proven. They can produce so many witnesses as to create a doubt in the minds of the jurymen and thus escape justice."

Judge Davis Louderback of the Police Court testified as follows to the question:

Q.—" What are the difficulties in the way of the administration of justice where the Chinese are concerned?"

A.—"As witnesses, their veracity is of the lowest degree. They do not appear to realize the sanctity of an oath, and it is difficult to enfore the laws where they are concerned for that reason. They are very apt, in all cases and under all circumstances, to resort to perjury and the subornation of perjury. They also use our criminal law to revenge themselves upon their enemies, and malicious prosecutions are frequent."

Cleanliness which is not next to Godliness.

When you look at your cook with his clean white apron displayed to its best advantage, and see the kitchen most carefully washed, and everything bright and in its proper place, it becomes impossible to realize that the same cook came from the dens of filth we have described, and that he will return to them at every favorable opportunity. No such protean changes can be effected by any of the European race, and hence, being foreign to our own nature, we cannot believe it to be a possibility. So distinct and far removed are the mental characteristics of the Chinese from the white man, that the latter finds nothing in himself which will lead to a proper conception or comprehension of the former.

When you look at the simple and child-like smile, and hear the gentle assent to all your propositions and commands, you will not, you cannot believe that to every offence you give, vengeance as treacherous as it is nasty will surely but secretly follow. Offend your cook! He will be humble, docile, non-resistant, and present no evidence of having received an offence; he is too subtle for that; and you leave him believing that your masterly dignity has crushed him; but he will have his revenge. He will hawk from his throat, spit, or blow his nose into the soup he is cooking for you; or mix with the stews he is cooking for your dinner more filthy things.



With a people who are speedy to revenge, but who will show no anger at the time of the offence, you are as with the subtle serpent. The hatred of the whites is openly expressed toward the Chinese. The Chinese have no less malignancy toward the whites; and this is expressed, not by open utterances or acts, but in covert and secret ways.

They who have watched them in the cigar factories see them blow their noses, and clear their throats, and cast the result among the tobacco destined to be smoked by white men. In the kitchen they are often seen to take water into their mouths and blow it out into the dough to moisten it, as the laundrymen do to the clothes. When the rolls or biscuits come out of the oven they sometimes put an extra gloss upon them by squirting water out of their mouths as from a pulverizator.

They who estimate the Chinaman as a non-resistant are far away from the facts. He is a resistant, and an aggressive one, beyond all the conceptions of those who have not had years of experience with them. Subjected in their own country to the tyranny of their superiors in rank and wealth, they are schooled to hide their anger and smother their tendencies to resist. They therefore satisfy their longings for vengeance by doing that which will confer a wrong, but which they expect will be unknown. Mr. Oliphant says:

"A Chinaman has wonderful command of feature. He generally looks most pleased when he has the least reason to be so, and maintains an expression of imperturbable politeness and amiability when he is secretly and devoutly regretting that he cannot bastinade you to death."

It has been said that there are persons who can "smile and murder as they smile, and cry content to that which grieves the heart;" and that a man may "smile and smile, and be a villain." These in all other countries are individual characteristics. It can only be said to apply as a trait of national character to the entire Chinese people. The face of an European expresses to a considerable extent his thoughts, passions, or intentions. Not so the features of a Chinaman. You may find the direction the cross-eyed man looks, but you cannot discover the direction of the thoughts of a Chinaman. Therein all Americans are deceived, for the most child-like innocence is assumed even when their thoughts are deadly, and assassinations occur when least expected. It is in the dark, when they can act with the least fear of detection, that they become the most dangerous.

The Chinese as Gamblers.

We take from the official report made to the Supervisors the following:

"We are met with the most positive evidences that the Chinese population openly defy the State and municipal laws. These laws are strong enough, as has been conclusively proved, to shut up the gambling houses run by white men, and to make the gambler completely amenable to the majesty of the law. It is not so in Chinatown. The barricaded gambling dens in Chinatown are veritable citadels and strongholds, built to defy assault and to baffle police interference. The list comprises about 150 places, the approaches to which are through a series of plank and iron doors; in every instance with grated windows, cunningly devised trap-doors for escapes, and in many instances ironclad walls or partitions. Many of these doors bear the marks and indentations of the sledges of the police who have assailed them from time to time, which attack has usually been successfully resisted, however. When the attack has been successful, they have secured time long enough to enable every evidence of the gambling games carried on within to be destroyed before the assailants were admitted. The convenient water-closet or kitchen fire, always adjacent to and forming part of these dens, furnish ready means to destroy the 'tan' markers or lottery devices. When the police force an entrance they find the most innocent-looking celestials sitting 'child-like and bland,' apparently in wonder why they have been disturbed; and against whom no charges can be successfully maintained in the Courts."



A lottery den.

The Grand Jury in their report say:

"It is generally well known that gambling does exist to a great extent among the Chinese in this city, but it is diffi-

cult to surprise them in the act or to arrest the offenders. These gambling houses are so well protected by heavy iron plating on doors and walls, and so well supplied internally with means of exit through trap-doors and skylights that it is almost impossible for the police, however vigilant, to surprise the gamblers."

Lottery Associations among the Chinese.

The reporter of the *Chronicle*, who has spent much time in Chinatown, writes:

"The Chinese Lottery Protective Association consists of twenty-five separate companies with an aggregate capital of \$1,000,000, and an individual capital varying from \$20,000 to \$60,000. The wealthiest of these organizations are the Yonk Tai Company, the Tuk Tut, Fook Tai, Tai Loi, Yum Kie, Kwong Tai and Wing Tai. The strongest is that entitled Tai Loi, whose place of business was raided by the police a few weeks since, where, besides several millions of lottery tickets, a large quantity of opium was seized. There is every precaution taken on the part of the Chinese to keep their places of business secret from the vulgar public. Huge sheet-iron doors guard the rooms; guards are everywhere on the alert to give the signal of an impending attack.

"Gambling is an exciting mania. There are few who have been approached who have not succumbed to the glib arguments of the Chinese lottery agent. The greatest number of victims are those of the gentler sex. Young ladies and their mothers, servants and their beaux, are liberal patronizers of these lotteries. Among the many agents employed by these lotteries to sell tickets are the washermen and fruit-peddlers, whose duties take them into the houses they otherwise could not enter. Some idea of the vastness of these lottery transactions may be gained when it is estimated that no less a sum than \$15,000 to \$20,000 daily, or \$6,000,000 yearly, finds its way into the hands of the Chinese through the lottery traffic. The largest shareholders in these enterprises are the wealthiest of the Chinese merchants, who run no risk, as, in three-card monte, the bank generally wins."

Reading the above, you very naturally ask: Why do the State and municipal authorities permit the erection of barricades, iron doors, etc., which so effectually resist the police in the execution of their duties? The answer readily presents itself to every legal mind: The United States laws

permit every man to do within his house almost every and anything, and he may put in iron doors or erect barricades to his own satisfaction. The framers of these laws never contemplated the existence of a people so cunning and vicious as the Chinese; they made the laws to cover a homogenous population; to govern a people whose customs, habits and manner of gaining a livelihood were similar.

Special Legislation Necessary.

Where two races so distinct and opposite exist together, the legal voke should be shaped to each. The United States laws are made as if the Chinese and Americans could assimilate and be as one. The State laws are made with reference to the fact that assimilation is neither desirable nor practicable. If the United States Courts would not interfere with the State and municipal legislation, there would be no iron doors or barricades to prevent the police from doing their duty. On the other hand, all the Chinese in the Pacific States would emigrate to other countries, and a very large number go to the east of the Rocky Mountains, there to act as missionaries, in the conversion of editors, ministers, and all others who cannot understand the Chinese question, until, by friction, actual contact, and losses in their business, they are compelled to a true knowledge of the subject; proselyting them to the belief that, if all the scourges the white man had ever been exposed to were concentrated, they would not in their aggregate parallel that of the presence of the Chinese among them. Until the National Government appreciates the sufferings of those who are in daily contact with the Chinese, the people of San Francisco must "grin and bear "their calamities.

A thoughtless boy brought to his father's house a bull pup, upon whom he had placed his affections. To test his qualities he persuaded his father to get down on his hands and knees and play dog. This he did, to the delight of his son. The pup soon proved that he was a bull pup in the first degree. He took the ear of the old man into his mouth with the usual unrelenting grip, and when the old man cried aloud the son cried still louder: "Be patient, dad; grin and bear it, father; it will be the making of the pup."

Opium-smoking, as Introduced and Spread, by Wash-houses and Opium-dens.

The qualities of goodness are not to be measured by the intentions, nor are the graces of the Christian to be estimated by the profession. There are no teachings of the Bible which can be interpreted to mean, that the moral condition of our own race should be neglected or made worse in the too earnest effort to convert the heathen.

When the vices introduced by those who come from heathen lands tend to corrupt, demoralize, and lead to the physical and moral destruction of the young men and women of our country, it becomes the duty of all men to comprehend the importance of the evil of the immigration in all its bearings.

To have but the single thought and purpose of the mind directed to the making angels of the heathen, at the same time closing the eyes, the ears, and all sources from which a proper knowledge and understanding can be derived of the want, deprivation, misery, crime and degradation caused by the vicious habits and diseases introduced by the Asiatic races who come to this country, partakes of the narrowness of the many in the Atlantic States, who will do nothing to alleviate the sufferings of their neighbors, but will encourage the coming of those who will bring diseases and habits which will destroy many of their own race.

Of this class are the enthusiasts, pursuing a course derived from a single text of Scripture, without reference to the whole, and pushing forward to its destructive results. These, when disaster has followed their acts and teachings, will seek to shelter themselves from the consequences of their own errors and the wrath of their fellow-citizens by pleading that their intentions were good. It has been said that "Hell is paved with good intentions." If so, then even and exact justice demands that all such men should walk these pavements until their sins are purged away.

The vice of opium-smoking, introduced by the Chinese who have come to America, has destroyed the intellect and alienated from the love they should have for the moral teachings of the Bible, more young men and women in the United States than all the missionaries of the country have ever converted of the Chinese to Christianity. This is a fact awful to contemplate, but before which, every pro-Chinese citizen of America should pause and reflect; then ask themselves if they do not owe a duty to the natives of their own country superior to that which they owe to opium-smoking foreigners.

Every Chinese wash-house in the cities and towns of the United States is an opium-joint or den, or contains Chinamen who smoke opium; therefore, every city and almost every town has within itself an active source from whence the contagion of this habit may spread. What the attending horrors and ruin of opium-smoking is should be known by every man and woman.

All Men Should Know of the Drug which Most Disastrously Enslaves.

In the larger cities there may be found in the book-stores treatises upon the opium habit written by men who have devoted much attention to the subject. Every person should read some one of these works before they consider themselves competent to have a valuable opinion upon Chinese immigration. From among a very large amount of interesting matter found in Dr. H. H. Kane's "Book on Opium-Smoking," published by G. P. Putnam & Sons of New York, we extract the following:

"In the year 1875 the authorities of San Francisco, after exhausting every means of suppressing the habit of opium-smoking, succeeded in closing the larger smoking-houses, but the small dens in Chinatown were well patronized, and the vice grew surely and steadily. The very fact that opium-smoking was a practice forbidden by law seemed to lead many, who would not otherwise have indulged, to seek out the low dens and patronize them, while the regular smokers found additional pleasure in continuing that about which there was a spice of danger. It seemed to add zest to their enjoyment. Men and women, young girls, virtuous or just commencing a downward career, hardened prostitutes, representatives of the 'hoodlum' element, young clerks and errand boys, who could ill-afford the waste of time and

money, and the young men who had no work to do, were to be found smoking together in the back rooms of laundries, in the low, pestilential dens of Chinatown, reeking with filth and overrun with vermin, in the cellars of drinking saloons and in houses of prostitution. No one can question the fascination of a vice, the strength of a habit, that will lead people into such degradation for the gratification of the abnormal appetite. No one can question the certainty of moral ruin, the charring and obliteration of every honest impulse and honorable sentiment, the sweeping away of every vestige of modesty by such associations and such surroundings. It needs no sign-board to mark the terminus of this road."

The Ruin and Desolation Following Opiumsmoking.

"It is thus seen how fascinating a habit that of opiumsmoking is, and with what rapidity it is spreading all over the country, ensnaring individuals in all classes of society, leading to the downfall of innocent girls and the debasement of married women, and spreading its roots and growing in spite of the most stringent measures looking to its eradication.

"The question will be naturally asked, of what class are those who smoke opium? The answer is: representatives of all classes—merchants, actors, gentlemen of leisure, sporting men, telegraph operators, mechanics, ladies of good families. actresses, prostitutes, married women and single girls. Those who have most leisure, those on whose hands time hangs heavily, are the most prone to drift into it and be carried away by it. Essentially a nervous people, prone to excess in everything, gladly welcoming narcotics and stimulants, we go to very decided excess in all matters of this kind. the morals of the individual the effects are well marked. The continued smoking of this drug plunges the victim into a state of lethargy that knows no higher sentiment, hope, ambition or longing than the gratification of this diseased It blunts all the finer sensibilities, and cases the individual in a suit of vicious armor that is as little likely to be pierced by the light of true morality as a rhinoceros hide by a willow twig. To him Heaven is equivalent to plenty of the drug; Hell to abstinence from it. Once fastened upon the victim, the craving knows no amelioration; it is a steady growth, with each succeeding indulgence gaining strength as the huge snowball gains in circumference and weight by its onward movement. No wonder that laws have failed to blot it out. A man may wish to be free from it, as may a doye in the talons of an eagle, or a lamb in the embrace of a tiger, and with as little good result. The awakening comes too late."

Mr. Lord, the United States Consul to Ningpo, says:

"Opium-smokers must have opium, and in most cases they must have it in increasing quantities. To obtain it no obstacle is too great to be overcome. They will part with everything for it, sacrifice everything that is sacred. The wretch who is given to opium is lost to everything else. His land, his house, his bed, his clothes, his food, his wife, his children, and even his life will be consumed on the altar of this terrible Moloch."

How the Young are Seduced and Ruined by Opium-smoking.

Burt Hale, in the San Jose Mercury, says:

"In the great city of San Francisco, boys, yes, and girls, with the look of cunning, blase, old men and women sneak out of the vile alleys in the Chinese quarters and elsewhere; out into the beautiful sunshine and refreshing sea breeze with such expression of weariness, duplicity, vice and recklessness combined on every face, that the busy passer-by

stops to pity and abhor.

"The foolish, misguided boy, deceiving father and mother and employer, deems it something smart and clever to 'visit a joint' or 'to hit the pipe.' The poor young fool stifles both conscience and his nostrils and pretends to look approvingly and with the eye of a connoisseur on the box of deadly poison; and, holding in the flame the dirty bowl, charged with the perforated ball, draws death, dishonor and disease in fatal inhalation.

"It is the road to speedy decay and rapid dissolution. An idolatry that has slain more thousands than Juggernaut. It is the curse of China. An impending evil that, transplanted here, if not rooted out, would, before the dawn of another century, decimate our youth, emasculate the coming generation, if not completely destroy the white population of

our coast.

"This pernicious habit is on the increase all over the State and more especially in the large cities. Many bright young men, including two, at least, graduates of our university, have died from its effects within the last year. The

police records of San Francisco show the arrests of hundreds of both sexes annually, many of them youths of respectable exterior, in the vilest of Chinese 'joints.'"



His regular patrons.

"For fascinating seductiveness, Sir C. Forbes writes: immeasurable agony and apalling ruin, the world has yet to see its parallel." And Barnes says: "Not the reptile with its fascinating eye draws the impotently fluttering bird so surely within its gaping jaws. Opium is a spirit of evil as treacherously beguiling as is the arch-fiend himself."

A Chinese scholar, quoted by Williams, thus sums up the ill effects of opium, which he says "is taken first to raise the animal spirits and prevent lassitude. It may be compared to raising the wick of a lamp which, while it increases the blaze, hastens the exhaustion of the oil and extinction of the light. Hence the youths who smoke will shorten their own days and cut off all hope of posterity, leaving their parents and wives without anyone to depend upon. the robust who smoke, the flesh is gradually consumed and worn away, and the skin hangs like a bag, their faces become cadaverous and black, and their bones naked as billets The habitual smokers doze for days over their pipe without appetite; when the desire for opium comes on they cannot resist its impulse. Mucus flows from their nostrils and tears from their eyes; their bodies are rotten

and putrid. The poor smoker who has pawned every article in his possession still remains idle, and when the periodical thirst comes on, will even pawn his wives and sell his daughters.

The Hopelessness and Despair of the Opiumsmoker.

Dr. A. P. Meylert, in his book published by Putnam & Co., New York, describes the impotency of the opium habitué thus:

"The enchantress is now changed to a dragon, which holds him under a magic spell. He resolves to be free from bondage to a degrading appetite. To give strength for thought, reflection and plan of action an extra portion is Under its influence he is brave and resolute. now determines to reform or die in the attempt. Soon, however, he becomes dispirited, depressed, anxious. persists, and allows the time to pass without his daily dose, a great distress takes possession of him. He falls asleep, but frightful dreams quickly waken him, trembling and crying out in terror. The judgment has come and the evil one is reaching out his great brown hand to seize him! Time seems to stand still. He stares at the clock, saying: are there sixty minutes in an hour? No, there are sixty hours in every minute. At one moment he is burning up, then he shivers with cold. Perspiration streams from every pore. Neuralgic pains torture successively his head, limbs, joints, arms, chest and back. Indeed, every nerve of his body seems to cry out, and nerves are discovered where none were known to him before. A peculiar indescribable sensation, more severe than actual pain, torments him from head



to foot. Obstinate vomiting sets in, followed by persistent, exhaustive diarrhea. Finally, in deep humiliation, in anguish and tears, he gives up the attempt and bows in

subjection to his merciless master.

"Nothing is so suggestive of demoniacal passion as the conduct of the confirmed habitué when suddenly deprived of his drug. He finds himself a captive unable to escape from his prison house. He tries again and again, ineffectually. If ever a poor soul needed help he does, and that quickly. At length he passively yields to what he calls his fate. little longer and he comes to enjoy it. He continues to denounce others for placing him there, but makes no further He becomes intensely selfish and supremeeffort to escape. ly self-conscious. He lives in an imaginary world of his own creation. He is its central figure. Nothing grows on its soil but the poisoned fungus. Everyone suffers from contact with him. Those who refuse to minister to his depraved appetite, be they father, mother, wife or child, are literally, passionately denounced and cursed. Thus he goes on from bad to worse, and then cometh the end.

"It should be understood that opium habituation means death-mental, moral and physical. He who cannot instantly drop the drug is drifting towards destruction. does not see it, perhaps. Like the Rhine boatman, gazing at the vision of beauty upon the cliff above him, he is swiftly dashed upon the rocks below. And what does the habitué himself think as he goes down the dark valley? The sun shines, the birds sing and the flowers bloom, but not for him. Nature itself is turned against him. The bright day with its wealth of beauty serves but to mock him. He seeks consolation from the Bible, but there is no promise, no hope for him. He remembers only the words, All thy waves and thy billows have gone over me; the sorrows of death compassed me about; the pains of hell got hold upon me; while the undercurrent of his tortured mind repeats as a refrain, 'I have trodden the wine-press alone alone; there was none to help—none to help.

"The night comes on, closing around him like the pitiless tide upon the poor wretch on the shoals. He feels the horror of a great darkness, thick, heavy, penetrating every part of him. Every nerve of the body seems to take on conscious thought; and such thought! There is no past but that separated from the present by the great gulf—fixed, impassible. There is no future save the bottomless pit of eternal despair, everlasting, with no ray of light forever and forever. And what of the present? The present—a thousand years of

agony in a single night. Who can endure, even to think, of such suffering night after night, such shuddering fear of the terrible unknown, until at break of day the sun brings partial respite, and uneasy sleep comes to the weary sufferer? Who can wonder that the mind soon gives way under such a strain as this?"

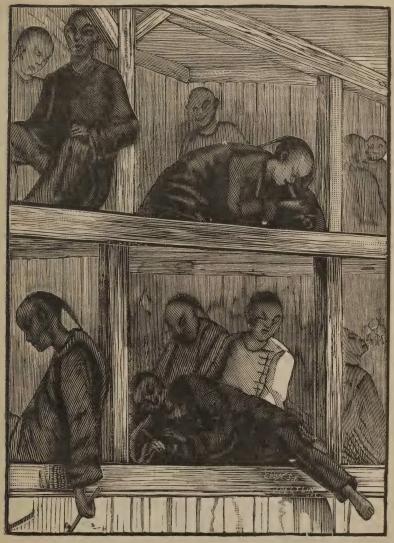
They who would more fully comprehend the suffering of the opium habitué should consult the works of Dr. I. B. Mattison and Dr. F. H. Hubbard of Brooklyn, N. Y., Dr. E. Levenstein, London, and many other excellent books written on the subject by experienced men.

The Existence of the Habit in San Francisco.—Its Spread Throughout the United States.

A reporter of the San Francisco Chronicle, after many days' observations in the Chinese quarter of San Francisco, directs attention to the alarming manner in which that most degrading habit, opium-smoking, has increased in San Francisco during the past few years. From observations carefully made and from conversations held with opium-users, opium-sellers and policemen, it has been ascertained that in San Francisco alone there are, exclusive of Chinese, as many as from 3,000 to 4,000 persons of both sexes, whose ages run from 16 to 60, who are completely enslaved by the pipe. The number of Chinese smokers in the city is almost past finding out. There is scarcely a house in Chinatown, from the lowest hovel to the abodes of the wealthy, where a layout cannot be seen. The reporter says:

"Wishing to obtain from the lips of the opium-slaves an account of the influences of the drug upon the mind and body, I visited a large number of 'joints' throughout the city. From North Beach to South Park and from the Water-front to the City Hall the dens were found, dotting the surface of the city in all directions, as if the germs of disease had been wafted by the winds from the loathsome hot-beds in Chinatown, and had fallen at random and taken root in the soil. One could hardly imagine to what an alarming extent the horrible practice has spread in this city unless he should see the indisputable proofs before him. A few years ago there was scarcely a den outside of Chinatown, but now almost all the second-class lodging-houses in

what is known as the Southern District have a room where smokers can 'hit the pipe.' This is perfectly lawful, as it has been decided that a man has as much right to smoke opium in his own room as he has to smoke tobacco. At any time of the day or night, young men, whose faces have lost all traces of health, and whose skin looks like wax; whose eyes have a lack-lustre appearance; whose forms have wasted



away until they are almost skeletons; whose countenances have lost all appearance of honesty—may be seen skulking, with the peculiar, light, rolling gait customary to the slaves of the pipe, towards the resorts where the opium is doled out by villainous-looking Chinese."

The Grand Jury, in their report in May, 1886, uses the fol-

lowing language:

"We much regret to find that the insidious and destructive vice of opium-smoking is increasing among the Chinese here, and by them being rapidly communicated to the lower classes of our white population. This presents a new and alarming social evil from which our country has hitherto been supposed to be exempt. Few recognize how widespread this evil has become in our midst. Judging the extent of its prevalence by the number of its victims, it is a vice which, in our opinion, calls for the most prompt and radical legislation possible to stamp it out."

If the good and Christian people east of the Rocky Mountains would but recognize the people on the west side as being equal to themselves in intellect, morals, culture and all the attributes that they themselves enjoy, they would profit by their experience and sufferings, and they would suspect that the presence of the Chinese among themselves is being disastrous to the morals and welfare of all who, by poverty or other causes, are brought in contact with them. In the city of New York the habit of smoking opium is rapidly increasing, and "opium joints" are in every ward in the city. In the crowded and dirty parts of the city they exist in great numbers. In Mott, Park, Pell and other streets where mixed races exist they may be found most abundantly. In Philadelphia, Chicago, New Orleans, St. Louis and other cities these opium dens exist to an extent unknown to the best citizens.

The Americans are Impelled to Excess in all Things.

Frenchmen, Italians, Spaniards and other people in Southern Europe, with few exceptions, drink wine every day. In these countries but little drunkenness is seen. In Germany and Holland beer is the common beverage, with comparatively a small degree of intoxication.

On the other hand, in the United States, both wine and

beer-drinking are followed by the taking of alcoholic drinks of a stronger quality, and from this proneness to excess comes drunkenness and its attending evils. Americans do everything to excess. In fashion they are always in the extreme. Language is not strong enough to express their ultraism; they, therefore, add oaths, imprecations and curses. Time moves too slow with them. It follows that this nervous, excited, and ever-active mental condition seeks temporary support in stimulants and narcotics.

The Chinese, who are slower, less mentally active but persistent, and with greater command of themselves, rarely carry the opium habit to the ruinous extent Americans do; yet they are all made more depraved and vicious by the habit, and thousands are rendered wicked, malicious and murderous for many years; then they die as imbeciles.

Rescued from a Chinese Opium Den.

"New York, May 28.—A little girl, thirteen years old, named Maggie Westbridge, was discovered a few days ago in a Chinese laundry and opium joint in Brooklyn. Her father is dead and her mother lives with a Chinaman. The place is described by the police as an opium joint of the vilest character, numbers of young girls being induced to go there and smoke the fatal first pipe which leads to ruin. Maggie said yesterday that more girls frequented the place than men. They are all American girls, too."



The Guileless Heathen.

"New York, June 9.—The Herald's Boston special says: Nellie Gately, a pretty young girl who was found in the opium-den of Lung Wah in Cambridge, in a stupefied condition, last night, came before the local Court to-day. She said she went into the place to get her brother's collars, when she was seized by Chinamen, who thrust a lighted pipe into her mouth and compelled her smoke until she became unconscious. She was found in this condition when the police raided the den. Lung Wah was fined \$30 and costs. The girl was discharged."

Slips like the foregoing may be cut from Eastern newspapers almost every day; but they do not attract the attention of the one-text ministers nor the solitary text Christian, whose mission on earth they conceive to be the neglect of their own race for the questionable salvation of heathen souls. Nor do they attract the notice of the editor or the merchant, for they are dreaming of the profits to accrue from an imaginary trade with China; nor the so-called statesmen, who have never risen above being groveling politicians. They are so much occupied with the politics of an island, containing not six millions of people, that they have not informed themselves of the important fact that the Pacific Coast is open to all the imported vices of 800,000,000 Asiatics. For the Irish vote they neglect their higher and nobler duties.

The officers of the law cannot enter the house of a German, Englishman or other foreigner and prevent the inhabitants thereof from smoking tobacco or opium. The United States Courts will not permit them to enter the houses of the Chinese to stop the opium-smokers. The legislatures and the municipal authorities of the Pacific States have enacted laws to meet every form of vice brought by the Chinese, and especially that of opium-smoking. Every efficient law made has been pronounced by the United States Courts as conflicting with treaties, or as contrary to the Constitution or laws of the United States.

To stay, or even keep within bounds, the opium habit, nothing but the expulsion from the United States of every Chinaman will suffice. In the towns and cities the Chinese

give to the young men and girls their first smokings without price. They invite them in as men do each other to drink. The first dozen smokes are a delight; the habit is formed; soon they wish to throw off the habit; it is impossible; no fiend ever held his victim in so tight a grasp! This the subtle Chinaman knows. The habit formed, the Chinaman has the profit of his investment. The young man or woman is his customer ever afterwards, and all they earn, he gets!

The United States Supreme Court Nullifies State and Municipal Legislation.

The most earnest prayers and supplications for relief from the evils of Asiatic immigration have, by petition, been presented before Congress. These have at times contained more than 50,000 signatures—petitions which might be measured in length as if they were miles. Congressmen from the Pacific States have appealed at every available opportunity to their fellows, but the majority, as also the weak and inefficient Presidents, have failed to take in the true situation. The people of California have declared, with greater unanimity than any people ever declared before upon any subject, that they wished to stay the invasion and get rid of the incubus. The Constitution of the State has been altered, and every form of legislative and municipal enactments have been made to lessen the spreading evils of the mongolian presence.

The United States Supreme Court has denounced the amendments to the Constitution, and declared the laws in conflict with existing treaties. The heel of the majority is upon the neck of the minority. These treaties exist by the might and power of numbers. The people of the Atlantic States want a trade with China, and for that they stamp the curse on the West.

That these people should be made acquainted with the grief and oppressions endured in the Pacific States, conventions have been held, statistics published, and every available means used to inform them. It is, therefore clear, that nothing but that inevitable destiny which will bring the like

evils to the people east of the Rocky Mountains, will ever make them comprehend the magnitude of the deep damnation which now dwells in California and the neighboring States.

The United States Supreme Court Declares a Fire Ordinance in Conflict with Treaties and the Constitution.

There are 320 laundries in San Francisco; 240 of these are conducted by Chinese. These laundries, to about the number of 310, are in wooden buildings, the majority of which are in a dilapidated condition, and are in places where, by their burning, much property in the neighborhood would be consumed. These wash-houses are used by the Chinese also for the purpose of smoking opium. When stupefied by the drug they are reckless, and fires are more frequent in such houses than in any others in the city. It is one of the peculiarities of this people that when a fire takes place they immediately run away as in a stampede, and abandon the premises to the flames.

Among the fire ordinances of the city is one forbidding wash-houses to be in frame buildings, unless specially authorized by the Common Council. For violating this ordinance Yeck Wo and Wo Lee were arrested by the Sheriff and convicted by a State Court. They appealed their case to the Supreme Court of the United States. Their attorneys filed their brief April 7th. Within thirty days after, the Supreme Court gave its decision in almost the exact language of the brief of the attorneys for the Chinese: "That the ordinance was a discrimination against the petitioners and all subjects of China, and contrary to the Fourteenth Amendment, Section 1977, United States Revised Statutes, Articles V. and VI. of the Treaty of 1868, and Articles II. and III. of the Treaty of 1881 between the United States and China."

Now the Chinese may keep their wash-houses in the most dilapidated condition, and, when stupefied by opium, set whole neighborhoods on fire. The city is forbidden to exercise municipal authority because the majority of washhouses happen to be run by Chinese. The public judgment will reverse that of the Supreme Court, and will declare the Court discriminates against the white citizens of the Pacific States.

In 1879 a convention was called, and the Constitution of the State was so amended as to guard the people, as far as practicable, from some of the Asiatic evils. The United States Courts declared these amendments to be in conflict with existing treaties and the Constitution of the United States. At this time, in order to express to the world the opinion of the people, the question of being in favor of Chinese immigration or against it was voted on by a full and separate vote—154,638 votes being cast against immigration and 883 votes in favor.

Seven years ago the people of California expressed, by a vote of 175 to 1, that they desired the Federal Government to protect them from Chinese immigration. The representatives from the Pacific have begged at every Congress that an efficient Restriction Act should be passed. The most important features of these have been vetoed by weak Presidents. Other acts of less efficiency have been made into Alas! for California; the machinery to execute these laws are men who reflect Eastern not Western ideas; and the United States Courts, which interpret the laws and the treaties, are in accord with Eastern, not Western sentiment. Bound as the doomed martyrs were, California and the sister States and Territories of the Pacific can do nothing in self-defense that is not met and nullified by Federal Courts and authorities. Having exhausted every form of supplication to the general Government for protection against invasion, a settled despair now manifests itself in violence and riot.

The Process of Change.

The laborers of the Pacific Coast were the first to feel the scourge and to utter their protest. The laborers of the Eastern States will be the first to feel and resent the wrong that is now fast approaching them. The politicians, following the majority, became opponents to further immigration, exactly as all politicians in the Eastern States will in a short

time do. Editors saw the disastrous and demoralizing effect of the Asiatic presence, and changed their opinion, exactly as every editor in the eastern part of the United States will do when he studies the question. And, lastly, the ministers of the Gospel, finding they could not make angels out of mongols, as their Christian brethren in the East expect to, have come to the conclusion that a white man and woman's soul is quite as important to be saved as a Chinaman's.

When no more was known about the Chinese than is now known in the Eastern States, almost all Californians formed a good opinion of them. When all their vices, cunning and treachery became known, that favorable impression changed to detestation. The same intellectual revolution will occur in the Eastern States when the Chinese are fairly planted in the fields of labor.

The laws governing the human mind are uniform. causes, operating in like manner, produce like results. people of the Pacific States have now been in intimate business and social contact with the Chinese for thirty-five years. The people east of the Rocky Mountains have had no such experience. Both of these sections contain a population of equal intelligence, morality and energy. When they of the lesser experience claim to know the most, does it not show that gall and presumption is part of their mental composition? The time will come soon enough when they may speak from experience; then they will also have changed their opinion. As the people of the Eastern States welcomed the sparrows, until they drove from the parks and the country the birds of beauty and song, and became destructive in the gardens and in the fields, and the same people wish to banish the sparrow; so the people of California now wish to banish a greater curse.

We may cry, Peace! Peace! But there can be no Peace under the Tyranny which Compels to Degradation.

In the fury of despair, do not all men and women turn upon the cause of their ruin? The very worm will turn upon the foot that treads upon it. No animal exists that will not turn upon its oppressor. It is a law as fixed and unchangeable as any law of nature; it is an attribute of the mind of man and animals, and has been so from the beginning. Nothing but the impairment of the intellect can lessen the impulse to turn upon those who do you injury. The ministers who preach to the contrary will show resentment at any cause which injures them. The editor will seek to punch the head of a rival who has taken away the patronage from his paper. Professors are as intolerant as musicians, who teach harmony. And thus on through all men and animals.

In the archives of Philadelphia and Boston you will find the solemn pledges of each to the other, that certain of the citizens of these cities will not trade with those who do not condemn by word and deed, the stamp or other acts which concerned the interest of the colonist, and which the mother country sought to impose. Was that not boycotting? In the same archives you will find that mob violence was frequent, and that the property of innocent persons was thrown into the sea or otherwise destroyed. Were these "riotérs," "hoodlums," the "floating scum of society?"

Among the sacred inheritances from our ancestors are boycotting and rioting in resistance to oppression. Why, there is not a shrimp in the Eastern cities who does not wish to trace his ancestry to one of these "boycotters" and "rioters."

Our ancestors of the Revolution committed every form of violence in their day, that has been committed on the Pacific Coast in our day. Their cause was bounded by the interest they had in trade and commerce. There was no physical and moral leprosy forced upon them; no bringing into their workshops a race to degrade labor; no opening of the ports to an invasion of corruption and base instincts such as the Federal Government now compels the Pacific States to submit to. The British Government introduced nothing to destroy the manhood and womanhood of the colonist, nor did they compel the acceptance of an alien race whose depravity taints the moral atmosphere, as does the Asiatic race in the Pacific States. The wrongs to the colonists concerned thrift, not morals! A monarchy could not commit a crime

of such magnitude. That was left for the democratic government the colonist created—a crime to be committed "under the name of liberty!"—a tyranny of the majority who vote on the other side of the Rocky Mountains over the minority who dwell on the Pacific side. The majority want the trade with China, and therefore the Pacific States must be morally damned! How patient the Pacific States have been to the wrongs received at the hands of the Federal Government, their long suffering has shown. Upon this subject the editor of the San Francisco Bulletin says:

"When the long, dark night of the Chinese slave incubus is taken into consideration, the historian at least will admit the general patience and self-restraint of our people. There are no instances for a long time of extreme violence toward the Chinese. When the fact is taken into consideration of the large numbers of women and helpless children who have been deprived of the sacred right to labor by this remorseless Chinese competition, and the strong men who have been reduced to the condition of tramps and outcasts, it will probably be suggested that no Christian could have borne his cross with greater resignation than the State of California. Such resignation was the direct offspring of trustfulness in the law, and the sure relief that is bound in time to

be obtained through it.

"Men of long-range view will deal more kindly with the course of California, in connection with the form of slavery proposed to be thrust upon her, than many of the hasty critics of to-day. There is no change in the sentiment of the State as respects the future coming of the coolies. The vote of 154,638 against Chinese immigration to 883 in favor of it, reflects the sentiment of California to-day as truly as it did in 1879. There is no 'let up,' change or weakening on that point. The only division of opinion relates to the course which should be pursued toward the Chinese who are here now. It will be generally admitted that is a duty which every citizen owes to his State, to civilization and to his children, to do all in his power to put an end to the servile labor in California, and to bring her industrial condition into complete harmony with her sister States."

Thus Speaks the Greatest Statesman in the United States.

Of the senators from the States east of the Rocky Mountains, the first great man to comprehend the evils of Chinese immigration was the Hon. James G. Blaine.

On the 14th of February, 1879, when the bill restraining Chinese immigration was before the Senate, Mr. Blaine said:

"Either the Anglo-Saxon race will possess the Pacific Slope or the Mongolians will possess it. You give them the start to day, with the keen thrust of necessity behind them, and with the inducements to come, while we are filling up the other portions of the continent, and it is inevitable, if not demonstrable, that they will occupy that space of country between the Sierras and the Pacific Coast.

"The immigrants that come to us from the British Isles and from all portions of Europe, come here with the idea of the family as much engraven on their minds and hearts, and in customs and habits, as we ourselves have. The Asiatic cannot go on with our population and make a homo-

geneous element.

"I am opposed to the Chinese coming here. I am opposed to making them citizens. I am unalterably opposed to making them voters. There is not a peasant cottage inhabited by a Chinaman. There is not a hearth-stone, in the sense we understand it, of an American home, or an English home, or an Irish, or German or French home. There is not a domestic fireside in that sense; and yet you say it is entirely safe to sit down and permit them to fill up our

country, or any part of it.

"Treat them like Christians, say those who favor their immigration; and yet I believe the Christian testimony is that the conversion of Chinese on that basis is a fearful failure; and that the demoralization of the white race is much more rapid, by reason of the contact, than is the salvation of the Chinese race. You cannot work a man who must have beef and bread, and would prefer beef, alongside of a man who can live on rice. In all such conflicts, and in all such struggles, the result is not to bring up the man who lives on rice to the beef and bread standard, but it is to bring down the beef and bread man to the rice standard.

"Slave labor degraded free labor. It took out its respectability, and put an odious cast upon it. It throttled the prosperity of a fine and fair portion of the United States in the South; and this Chinese, which is worse than slave labor, will throttle and impair the prosperity of a still finer and fairer section of the Union, on the Pacific Coast.

"We have this day to choose whether we will have for the Pacific Coast the civilization of Christ or the civilization of Confucius."

Seven years since Mr. Blaine spoke thus, and every statement made by him is the exact truth of to-day. Compare this with the non-committal, double-meaning, pusillanimous utterances of the mugwumpian statesmen now in Congress; and with the undecided, milk-and-water productions of the Presidential cabinet.

The Federal Government, Subjecting the Pacific States to an Invasion from the Asiatic Races, should meet the Result.

Following the suggestions of Mr. Bayard, the Secretary of State; the President, in his message of March 1st, 1886, to the Congress of the United States, upon the Rock Springs, Wyoming Territory, outrages, "brings the matter to the benevolent consideration of Congress, in order that that body, in its highest discretion, may direct the bounty of the Government in aid of the *innocent* and *peaceful strangers* whose maltreatment has brought discredit upon the country, with the distinct understanding that such action is in no wise to be held as a precedent. It is wholly gratuitous, and is resorted to in a spirit of pure generosity toward those who are otherwise helpless."

Such reasoning does more honor to the heart than to the head. Like violence done to American citizens in China, and we would demand an indemnity, as a matter of right! If we intend to reserve the right to demand restitution in damages, which may be done to American citizens when within the scope of Chinese authority, we should make proper payment of Chinese claims for indemnification.

But the absurdity of endeavoring to limit the good acts, "with the distinct understanding that such action is in no wise to be held as a precedent," becomes manifest when you call to mind that in Seattle, and other towns in Washington Territory, Americans have destroyed the property of and expelled

the Chinese. The same has been done in Idaho and every Territory and State west of the Rocky Mountains. That at this time, there are a hundred causes for indemnification, and that the amount which the United States Congress should vote to pay the "innocent and peaceful strangers," because of interrupting their operations in rooting out of their places, in the factory and in the field, white men and women, in the aggregate will exceed five millions of dollars.

The violent expulsion, and destruction of property, and the damage done to the Chinese by stopping their operations at different places in the States and Territories of the Pacific, if not quite as flagrant, are yet sufficient to cause them to present claims which should open the United States Treasury; and, from their magnitude, open the eyes of Congressmen. All the claims rest upon the same basis. The distinction may be in degree, but not in kind. The payment of one calls for the payment of the other. A precedent necessarily becomes established as soon as one of them is paid.

The Federal Government, in its legislation for the supposed benefit of the Eastern and Middle States, has brought ruin and disaster on the Pacific States. A conflict between the races of Asia and Europe has been invited and encouraged by the Government; and the Pacific States are to suffer in its desolation. As the costs of war should be paid by those who cause the war, so they who initiate and direct a wrong should promptly meet the result of resistance.

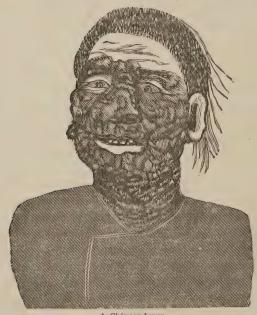
The condition of matters, briefly stated, is this: The Federal Government, after acquiring the Territories by the arms and the revenues derived from its own people, opened them for settlement to a race who could, by their civilization and intelligence, become citizens of the country. NATIVE BORN AND EUROPEANS WENT INTO THESE TERRITORIES AS "INNOCENT AND PEACEFUL STRANGERS," with the belief that they were to be protected by the National Government. They took with them their wives and children; they entered the forest or the prairie and subdued them to culture; they made comfortable homes in which to rear their families; they built school-houses and churches in which they could educate or worship as the

Christians of the highest civilization do; they built beautiful villages, towns and cities, and attained a degree of intelligence not surpassed by any State in the United States.

When our country most needed soldiers the Pacific States gave their sons to battle. When the treasury was bankrupt the States and Territories poured forth their treasures.

Now comes the Federal Government, in its desire to feed the avaricious commercial appetite of the East, and offers as a living sacrifice the Pacific States, and, by its supreme power, blasts the future of the most beautiful heritage of the American people.

A United States Commissioner is sent to China who negotiates a one-sided treaty—idiotic on the part of the United States; exceedingly cunning on the part of China. Now the ports of all Asia are open to emigration, and the ports of the United States all open to immigration. From countries whose populations are more than twice as great as the entire number of Europeans, they begin to pour hundreds of thousands of the most vicious men into the Pacific States and Territories. They come with leprosy, small-pox, syphilis,



A Chinese leper.

and the diseases and vices engendered by a depraved and corrupt existence. They bring with them prostitutes, not wives. Ages of deprivation have made it as nature that they can live on the cheapest of food, wear the most inexpensive apparel, occupy apartments by numbers equal to ten, where the white man considers the cubic space and air only proper for one; and they practice an economic existence so stinted that none with European blood can ever debase themselves to live as cheaply. With these small expenses for the necessaries of life they enter the fields of labor, prepared to work at prices which the European cannot exist upon. Not handicapped by the necessities of a family, or the expenses incident to a refined life, they can underwork all who live or dress in a proper manner. As they are impelled to gain by an avarice not paralleled in the human family, so they will work seven days in the week and over hours each day when it is more profitable for them to do so. Cunning to a degree before unknown, the Chinaman is only honest when honesty is seen to be the best policy. Thus, without the embarrassment of conscience or the expense of living, they enter into almost every mechanical trade or manufactory, and take from the European laborer the means of livelihood, and thus reduce him and all who depend upon him to want and suffering.

Mongolian Invasion of the Islands in the Pacific Ocean.

From a source of supply quite equal to the entire white population of the world, the Chinese have entered the labor fields of the Islands of the Pacific and driven the natives from their occupations.

The Hawaiian Islands, with whom we negotiated a reciprocity treaty, with a view to future annexation, are now so much in the occupation of the Chinese as to preclude forever any nearer relationship. Of the evils of the invasion of these Islands by the Chinese Mr. Schmidt discourses thus:

"The natives as a rule regard them with intense dislike and even hatred. Nor is this without reason; the Chinese have been a grievous injury to the native Hawaiians in many ways. Not only have they taken their places as laborers, but they have constantly, by one and another means, been gaining possession of their landed property, until now vast tracts of the richest lands, particularly such as are fitted for rice culture, are in the hands of Chinese syndicates or individual owners, while the entire group of islands is dotted with Chinese homesteads. The native is by nature improvident and easy-going, and the Mongolian immigrants early learned the advantage of becoming money-lenders where there was such a profitable field for the pursuit of the profession. Land and stock soon passed into the hands of the Chinamen, and, worse than this, in some instances where a more than usual spirit of degradation prevails, the family relations of the native are also disrupted.

"There have been exceptional cases where Chinamen have married native women with the apparent intention of becoming permanent residents. The great majority, however, remain single, and whether working as laborers or proprietors, all entertain the same object, namely: to accumulate a fortune as soon as possible, and return with it to

China.

"As common laborers, which is the status of most of the Chinese on the Sandwich Islands, they receive \$1 per day, and board themselves upon a few cents' worth of rice a day. It is the difference in the cost of living, far more than in the rate of wages, which renders it impossible for a white laborer to compete with a Chinese in Hawaii."

At too late a period the Government is now trying to prevent the further entrance of the Chinese into the Islands. The Hawaiian Islands are even now a Chinese Colony so far as labor and productions can make them so.

White Laborers cannot exist in China; then, why permit Chinese Laborers to Degrade the Workmen of America?

Is it probable, or even possible, that a white laborer can work at the wages paid in China, even though he entered with that intention? Can any person conceive how an European could live on the small amount paid there for a day's labor? We cannot work as cheaply as the Chinese in our own country; surely, the white laborer could not exist in China. Now, if white laborers cannot have an existence in China, why should the Chinese laborer have an existence in America by virtue of treaties?

If American merchants and travellers are limited to certain districts in China, why should any greater extent of territory be allowed to Chinese merchants and travellers in America?

There are no American laborers now, nor can there ever be any in China.

There are but a very small number of American merchants now living in China, and their business is rapidly declining; so that in a little time they will surrender it to the Chinese capitalists, who can deal better with their own countrymen than the foreigner can.

If, then, neither American laborers, nor merchants, can have a profitable existence in China, why should we endure the corruption and demoralization attending the presence of the Chinese in the United States?

It is said that the first law of nature is self-protection; in the exercise of this, why should not Congress declare by one Act the exclusion of all the Chinese. If not all, then the most obnoxious—they who by their competition take from the workingman the means of subsistence?

The time is rapidly approaching when the necesities of the country will demand that no Chinese laborer shall occupy the place of a white laborer in the United States. The laboring men of the nation have felt already the degradation attending the Chinese presence; and they will express themselves to the discomfiture of every politician whose record is not clear and straightforward towards absolute exclusion.

The Political Parties must take a New Departure.

The old parties are upon the same platform; there are no living issues. The old Whig party had for its corner-stone a protective tariff; it followed that, inasmuch as the factories of the United States were for the most part in the North, the Whig party had the majority of its supporters in the North.

The old Democratic party had for the chief plank in its platform the doctrine of free trade; and, as the South desired to sell cotton at the highest price, and sought to

buy manufactured goods at the lowest price, it followed that Democracy had its majorities in the South. To the tariff was added the suppression of slavery; from thenceforward the Whig party was merged into that of the Republican party. On the free trade doctrine the South grafted secession.

Slavery is abolished, and the majority of the Democratic party now advocate a tariff in some modified form. It is true there are a few college professors and abstract reasoners, who have taken in more knowledge than wisdom, and who are like ships too heavily laden; they wallow in the waves of the sea, they cannot keep pace with passing events, and they arrive in port after all others and too late to make their cargoes available; such men believe in free trade. And there are some merchants who profit by importations; they believe in free trade without knowing what it means; they have inherited the belief.

The ocean is a realm where free trade exists uninfluenced by protective tariffs; the cheapest and most effective labor becomes the dominant power upon its surface. The nation which raises coal, produces iron, and builds ships the cheapest, and has for its service the best seamen, at the lowest wages, has now the carrying trade of the world.

Tendencies of Trade and Manufactures towards Countries of the Cheapest Labor.

The law of the attraction of gravitation is not more inevitable in its tendencies, than that manufacturing will find the countries of the cheapest labor, provided that labor is efficient. The low wages upon which the Chinese, Japanese, and Hindostanese laborers subsist in their own country, will cause Asiatic and European capitalists to establish manufactories, and avail themselves of the profits of labor so far below that which is necessary for the subsistence of a white laborer. It is an error of the most serious importance, when the European overestimates his own power in the fields of trade and manufactures; and underestimates the qualities of perseverance, industry, cunning, the cheap mode of existence

and the capital which the Asiatic brings to the same fields in competition with him.

In the confidence that their position is forever fixed, and that they are too smart to be driven out of the markets of the world by such a contemptible and idiotic-looking race as the Mongolian, the Eastern manufacturer acts with the majority, and looks placidly at the defeat of the white manufacturer in the Pacific States. They cannot forget their own importance long enough to take in the more important truth, that Chinese capitalists command the cheapest labor in the world, at a percentage less than the same labor can be employed by Europeans.

Whom the Gods Destroy they first make mad.

As if it had been decreed that the time of the departure of the manufacturing industries of the country should be hastened, they who gain the means of living by the wages of their labor have made an organized attack on their employers, and sought to dictate terms and conditions to capital.

This is a most serious mistake; for on the one side capital is as "the Arab who silently folds his tent and steals away;" on the other side, the law governing the wages of labor is as fixed as the Divine law which compels men to labor. If the demand for labor is increased, wages also increases; diminish the demand, or increase the number of laborers and the wages will decrease accordingly.

The unfruitful strife between labor and capital, history has always shown, does terminate at last in this unchangeable rule: SUPPLY and DEMAND.

The laborer who becomes a Knight, or joins the Labor Union, has enlisted as the soldier, who can no more command his own actions or gratify his own desires.

A strike is ordered, he obeys even though his family be in a starving condition, and he himself has no cause or desire to strike. In the meantime, capital, not dependent upon any one investment, withdraws from manufacturing enterprises; or the owners of the factory closed by the strike, being tired of war with organized labor, seeks rest and

profit by removing the plant to Japan, or the seaport towns of Asia, where labor is the cheapest and most abundant.

The European Races are now Face to Face with the Asiatic Races.

The great contest which has been predicted of the meeting of the European and Asiatic civilization has commenced. The first success is scored by the Asiatics. What the termination will be is hidden from all. The fatalist may hope that the survival of the fittest will keep his posterity floating on the top. Unfortunately, the survival of what we believe are the fittest rarely takes place.

The truths of history declare that civilizations, which in their day and generation were as high above that of surrounding nations, as the European is above the Asiatic, were crushed out of existence and gave place to centuries of semi-barbarism.

An issue of greater magnitude than was ever presented to the American people is now approaching. A contest in the fields of manufacture is a contest for an existence, with the comforts, luxuries and enjoyment we have heretofore received. Unsuccessful, and we "sup sorrow with the poor."

The most enterprising, aggressive, and persevering, of the Asiatic races is now sending forth its millions to populate and command all the islands of the Pacific Ocean. In British Columbia they exceed the white men in numbers. The census of the city or Victoria shows, that the Chinese male population outnumber the white male population by one hundred and eleven. In that small city there are 3,180 Chinese, laboring and conducting business to the exclusion of an equal number of white producers.

The Mexican Government has invited immigration from China, and all the vessels arriving from Asia and landing in the western ports of Mexico are laden with coolies.

The adult male, or voting population of California number about 198,000. The Chinese number about 100,000.

The voting population of San Francisco is about 48,000. The Chinese in that city number between 30,000 and 40,000. The Chinamen throughout the State bear the relation of one

to every eight of a white population composed of men, women and children.

If all the Chinese in the United States were equally divided, according to the population, among the different States, California would have but 2,700 for her share; whereas, there are now more than 100,000 in the State. All facts and circumstances indicate that this must be true. There are no available means of telling how many Chinamen exist in the State. No census yet taken amounts to an approximation. As rats run away from the terrier, so do Chinamen flee from census takers and assessors.

The Custom House returns, the reports of Government officials, and the certificate of the Chinese minister or his subordinates, all may declare the number of Chinese as not increasing in this Republic, but the fact of increase exists notwithstanding, as every sense possessed by man, including his common sense, testifies to.

Chinatown in San Francisco visibly enlarges every month, so in like manner, every city in the Pacific and Atlantic States have more Chinamen in them now than they had one, two or three years ago.

Restriction not Practicable.

Wherever the Californian looks he finds Chinamen seeking to enter the United States. From British Columbia the Chinese find along the thousands of miles of boundary dividing it from the United States, many an opportunity to cross into the warmer and more flourishing States of the Union. From Mexico they cross the dividing line and enter the United States at any place between the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans.

Will any Restriction Act now passed, or that may be made into a law, prevent the Chinese from landing in Mexico or British Columbia, and then, at any favorable opportunity, enter into the United States? Restrict the rats that enter the granary from coming by water, and ask the owner thereof to be contented with the restriction; demand that he keep all the rats he now has, and if they want to go visiting to a distant country, give them a certificate to come back and

feed again on his grain; open up two long lines of ingress by land, through which the rats may enter the granary. This is restriction as understood by the United States Congress. Stop the gophers from coming by water into the field of the farmer; make him keep all the gophers he has now on his land; but let the long line of boundary between his property and that of his neighbor be open to their ingress. This is restriction as understood in the Atlantic States.

To evade the execution of the restriction laws the Chinese enter British Columbia, not that they intend to live in that cold and inhospitable climate, but that they may pass the boundaries into a warmer climate without molestation from government officials. The bounties paid by the Mexicans to the companies who bring coolies to that country, has started a tide of emigration from Asia, which will cause riot and bloodshed in every city in Mexico as soon as the novelty has worn away and the evil of their presence is realized; for the Mexicans are quick to anger, and expulsion by violence will be attempted by them.

Should the United States Government place a cordon of officials as close together as the posts of a fence, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans, and on the border line between the British Possessions on the north and the Mexican Possessions on the south, the Chinese would find a means of entrance, as do rats—when you have closed one

hole, they will burrow or find another.

Only a practiced eye can distinguish one Chinaman from another, and this similarity enables them so to interchange with each other, that even the greatest precaution taken by officials will not prevent their passing the guards.

The Republican and Democratic Parties have Outlived their Issues and their Usefulness.

They should cease to exist and an honorable burial be accorded to them.

The events of the day are now pressing the most important issues ever presented to the American people. A home party must be created to meet these issues. The foundation, strength and platform of this party must rest on existing

facts, not looking to the past but to the future. Facts such as these, that the good tillable land now in possession of the National Government is not adequate in amount to the giving of 160 acres of land to every male in the United States under the age of twenty years.

That large districts of country, such as lie between the Sierras and the Rocky Mountains, are barren for want of a proper amount of rainfall.

That large districts in the Territories are swamp and irreclaimable land.

That other land, such as found in Alaska, is not available, because of the Winter's cold.

That as soon as there is no more Government land to relieve the surplus of laborers in the cities of the United States, then the condition of the laborer will rapidly approach that of the laborer in the cities of Europe.

When the laborer from a European city emigrates he relieves the pressure of the labor market of that city to the extent of his influence. So, each laborer who takes up a farm relieves the labor market of the city he has heretofore labored in.

What Americans have attributed to a superior form of government, should to a very great extent be credited to the existence of an abundance of good, tillable land, which could be had for the very small consideration demanded by the government.

Within a very few years and there will be no more such land. When that time arrives the labor market will have no relief, and the test of the superiority of this Government to others will have come.

There is nothing in the Constitution or form of our government to prohibit the acquisition of large tracts of land by the rich. Nor is there anything to prevent the exact condition and relation of labor to capital as now exists in Europe.

It is true, a titled aristocracy may not be honored, but we will bow down to a moneyed aristocracy all the same.

When the public lands all enter into private ownership then their price will rise above that which the poor man can

pay, and the condition of America will soon become as that of Europe.

The Founders of this Republic did not Declare America was to be the Home of the Oppressed of all Nations.

That was the invention of the "Fourth of July orators," and a most pernicious creation it is. For the opening of our ports to the entrance of all the oppressed means, that we will admit the rankest compound of villanous wretches, ever conceived, born and nurtured in the baseness, ignorance and depravity, engendered by centuries of want and oppression. It means that we will admit all colors and qualities of men. It means that our country shall become densely populated with mixed races, and then fall from her high estate. As against impending evils, whose shadows are now cast before them, we should "take arms against a sea of troubles, and, by opposing, end them." To this end let the laborer, mechanic, merchant, and all join, having one great and important mission. Let them sever the allegiance to the political parties of the past, and bring to the ballot box the power and strength of unity; and, as the home party, let them declare positive and complete exclusion of all Asiatic laborers from the labor fields of America. Draw the line distinct and clear on the issue of exclusion as against its negative, and it will be found the laborers and mechanics of America understand the evil of the Chinese presence better than they who belong to the learned professions, and that by the power of the ballot they will compel the removal of the Chinese from among us.

As in the past, the pulpit will loudly proclaim its dissent to measures so effectual, and the press will cast its influence with all the force and influence which type can exert against exclusion. But these are on the surface of the stream; beneath there is the power of numbers—the silent, undemonstrative intelligence and force of the mechanic and laborer, the great "undertow," which, by the exercise of the ballot, commands the destinies of the State.

The laborers and mechanics in every district of the nation have sympathized with their brethren on the Pacific Coast in the degradation brought upon them by the competition with Chinese labor, and they fully recognize the evils brought upon themselves by the importation of laborers from the most ignorant and depraved countries of Europe.

The Necessities of our Children Demand That the Ports be Closed.

This nation has already received too many of the poor, ignorant, and criminal from the States of Europe. They seriously affect the morals and the politics of the country; and the time has arrived when the ports of the nation should be closed against all who cannot by their presence add to the intelligence, wealth and morality of the commonwealth.

The most intelligent, thrifty and moral do not as a general proposition or rule leave the country of their birth to seek a home in foreign lands. They who have these qualities and do emigrate are the exceptions to this rule.

The capacity to absorb and digest becomes less as the public land diminishes in quantity. When the overplus of laborers cannot find homes in the unoccupied and low priced lands of the country, then the laborer in the crowded cities exists as in a perpetual battle for life against a competition so numerous and so stricken by the ills of poverty, that in the end his manhood sinks to the level of that of the immigrant.

This commonwealth, possessing no more land as an outlet and as an assistant in the absorption and digestion of the ignorant and depraved who come within its territory, will become as the Dead Sea, which cannot discharge the wash and abominations brought by the Jordan from the hills and the valleys.

Upon this subject the Rev. Heber Newton thus discourses: "The State should regulate our foreign immigration. We have received between 12,000,000 and 13,000,000 immigrants in half a century, and over 4,000,000 in the last decade. This immigration has tended largely towards our great manufacturing centers, which it still further clogs with a surplus of labor, depressing wages and lowering the demand, on which production depends, thus leading to a shrinkage of the profits. Plainly we need either to restrict our immigra-

tion or to organize a distribution in the interests of the nation. There should be stringent legislation as to the financial ability and general character of those we ask to become citizens of our great Republic, if we desire that Republic to live. Without any question, it is high time that the law already passed two years ago by Congress, prohibiting the importation of cheap foreign labor, under contract, should be vigorously enforced. It is a monstrous wrong that unscrupulous capital should be allowed to rake the cheapest labor of the Old World for material with which to fight our American workingmen."

Place the issues squarely before the people, not as tagged on to the professions of either or both of the present political parties, but as presented by a home party, it being the most important question ever submitted to the people of this country.

First—Expulsion and absolute exclusion of all Chinese laborers from the United States.

Second—Prohibition for all future time of entrance into the United States of all foreigners, whether European or Asiatic, whose presence will tend to degrade the workingmen of the country, and all who have not in their own country sustained an honorable record of intelligence, thrift and morality. The laborers and mechanics are prepared to vote for the closing of the ports as against the most obnoxious immigrants, Asiatic or European, and when the question comes to a vote they will sustain their opinion by immense majorities.

The Welfare of this Nation Demands that its People shall be Homogenous, and that a Mixture of Races within its Borders be No longer Tolerated.

That most stupid piece of diplomacy ever placed on record, known as the Burlingame Treaty, gives to the Chinese all that is obtained by the people of the most favored nation. All there is in it that relates to the immigration of Coolie labor is: "The high contracting parties agree to pass laws making it a penal offense for a citizen of the United States or Chinese subject to take Chinese subjects either to the United States or any other foreign country; or for a Chinese subject, or

citizen of the United States to take citizens of the United States to China or any foreign country without their free and voluntary consent, respectively."

It is a fact supported by direct and circumstantial evidence, that more than ninety per cent. of the Chinese laborers in America are here by contracts made before their departure from Asia with companies and capitalists, and that these contracts are so binding and unbreakable; that it is doubtful if there can be a case found wherein the laborer has broken the bond and made himself a free man.

The Chinese women, on the other hand, were purchased at a price in Asia and brought over by contract and sold for a price after arrival in the United States.

Nearly all the Chinese in America came through the English port of Hongkong. The contracts were probably made there. If that treaty provided for the immigration of Coolies, contract labor and slaves, the Chinese may possess some claims of being rightfully here. But the treaty should instantly be burned as a monstrous crime against the American people.

In the other view, if the Chinese as bondsmen are here without the authority of that treaty (there being nothing in the treaty relating to the matter) then expulsion should follow their illegal presence.

The American People in the Pacific States are there by Rights Superior to those of the Mongolian.

They went there to open up the wilderness to cultivation. They put forth their strength and it now blossoms with the rose. They have made homes, beautified cities, and planted prosperity on the western shores of the nation.

The National Government, responding to Eastern views and sentiment upon a subject which most affected the West, has exposed all these beautiful creations of their industry and skill to an immigration which has all the qualities of a conquering invasion.

By the action and non-action of the government, labor has been dishonored and debased by a compulsory competition with the bonded labor of Coolies.

By the same power which compels the Pacific States to endure the Mongolian presence, all their vices and diseases are maintained in these States, and the rising generation, now children of great promise, are being corrupted by contact with moral and physical leprosy.

By the ignorance, or the willful ignoring of existing facts, and by the morbid sentimentalism and the romantic attach-

ment of the many, the Chinese are sustained.

The demonstrative portion of the people in the East are not willing to understand, that the trade and manufactures of the west coast of America is passing out of the hands of their countrymen into the hands of the Chinese.

These events taking place in one part of the Union, supported and maintained by the people in another part of the Union, calls for what?

Shall the American citizens on the Pacific Coast sink into a condition of "Innocuous Desuetude" before "the peaceful and innocent strangers" of President Cleveland?

Or shall they resent the wrongs by practicing boycotting and other like measures as the patriot fathers of the revolution did? Or shall they whilst protesting against the tyranny of the National Government, and of the majority who sustain that government, enter into riot and mob violence as did the early revolutionist when protesting against British tyranny?

They who are in high places, and are the rulers of the nation, should be men whose intelligence, capacity, and grandeur is commensurate with the necessities which now exist, and which will hereafter arise to a greater degree as the coming events cast their shadows over the manufacturing States of the Union.

In the meantime they who are in power should in justice, in mercy, and in Christian charity towards members of their own race remove the cause of dissension and strife from the Pacific States. Accepting as an established and an unavoidable fact, that no Federal or State laws—no Federal or State executive force, no potency beneath the stars can compel the two races to exist together in harmony.







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